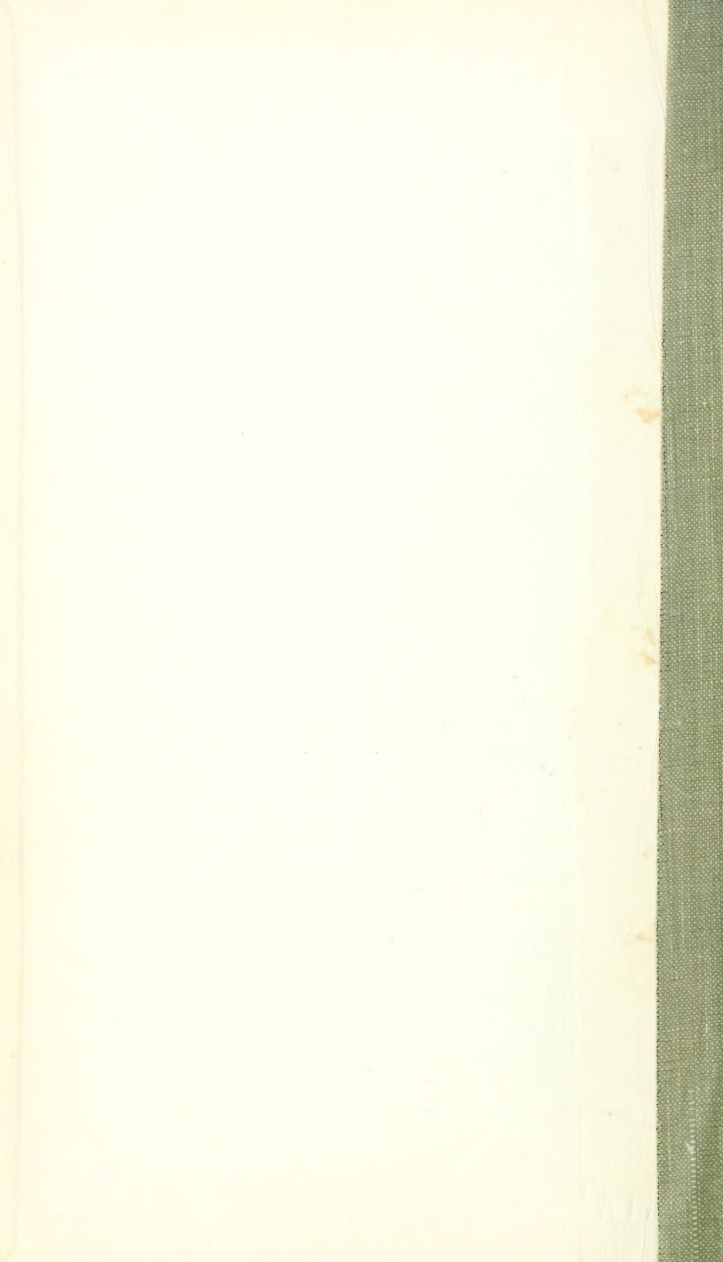




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ROBINSON CRUSOE

EXAMIN'D AND CRITICIS'D

OR

A NEW EDITION OF CHARLES GILDON'S FAMOUS PAMPHLET

NOW PUBLISHED

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION AND EXPLANATORY NOTES

TOGETHER WITH

an ESSAY ON GILDON'S LIFE

BY

Faul DOTTIN



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*Two hundred copies of this book have been
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PREFACE

Charles Gildon's pamphlet on De Foe, though very popular at the time of its first issue, is now rare, the British Museum copy being the only one easily available. It is so important for a study of the composition and development of *Robinson Crusoe*, that its publication seems to me indispensable to complete my thesis, *Daniel de Foe et ses romans*.

My first idea was to reprint the text exactly as in the 1719 edition, merely adding explanatory notes. But as the only modern biography of Gildon is a very incomplete one in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, I found it necessary to make further researches, and was rewarded by the discovery of many hitherto unknown and unpublished manuscript documents concerning Gildon, both in the British Museum and the Public Record Office. The result of these researches I have embodied in an Essay on Gildon's life.

The great writers of the Augustan Age have been very little studied, and the minor literati not at all. A life of one of the poor hack-writers of Grub-street is of some interest for the literary history of the period. Gildon's life is representative in this respect. He was, moreover, in relationship with many of the most celebrated men of his time. The history of his relations with them throws new light on some details in the lives of Addison, Dennis, Pope, and Prior, and enables us to arrive at a true estimate of the famous Addison-Pope quarrel.

I have added notes on some obscure passages in Gildon's pamphlet, and on his allusions to De Foe's novel. The references to the text of *Robinson Crusoe* apply to the most easily available edition of De Foe's works, that published by Hazlitt in 1840. I have systematically refrained from comments on Gildon's style, which is ordinary eighteenth-century English and presents no interesting peculiarities.

I have been much encouraged in my research by the courtesy of the officials in the Public Record Office and the British Museum, and wish formally to express my thanks to them, and also to Miss E. Deane of the University of Liverpool, to Prof. Cazamian and Prof. Guyot of the Sorbonne, for many helpful suggestions.

Paris, Sept. 1922.

Paul DORTIN.

This book having been printed in France, the number of words divided at the end of the lines is rather unusual.

to my father

THE LIFE

OF

CHARLES GILDON

I

Gildon's first attempts as a writer

Charles Gildon was born in 1665 in Dorsetshire, at Gillingham, then a small village hidden among the woody hills which skirt the river Stour. The ravages of the Great Plague did not reach this pleasant and healthy countryside, and the boy grew up, sound and sturdy, when in all the chief cities of England the pitiless scourge struck new-born babes, and there was a new massacre of the Innocents.

Gildon was by birth a gentleman, and never failed throughout his life to emphasize the fact (1). His ancestors were substantial English yeomen, who had remained passionately attached to the Roman Catholic religion. His grand-father, a staunch old Cavalier, by his services to the Royalist Party drew on his head Cromwell's hatred, and two thirds of the family estate were confiscated by the Commonwealth. Charles's father, a zealous champion of the cause of the Stuarts, stoically bore persecu-

(1) See his edition of Langbaine's *Lives of the English Dramatic Poets*, and his letters to Prior (Longleat Mss. III, 507).

tion, unswerving in his faith as Papist and Royalist. When the Restoration came, he hoped for an ample reward for his loyalty : but, like many others, he was forgotten by the Merry Monarch. Reduced thus to comparative poverty, he was obliged to sell the best part of his estate and retire to Gillingham, where his son, Charles, was born.

Of the considerable fortune that had belonged to the family, there was little left. Charles's father, a scholar, « member of the Hon. Society of Gray's Inn » (1), resolved to give his son a liberal education, to enable him to earn an easy living. Charles was sent at first to school at Gillingham, where he got « the first rudiments of learning under a very honest and learned master, Mr Young. » But he was only nine, when his father died. His relations decided that he should enter the priesthood, « which was supposed the best support of a Gentleman whose Fortunes and Relations could promise him no greater advantage ». At fourteen, he was sent to Douai, to the « Collège des Anglois », — a college of secular priests reserved for young Englishmen. Here he stayed for 5 years and became a very good scholar in Greek and Latin. His masters, finding him zealous in his studies, hoped to make an eminent priest of him ; but « he found his inclinations point him another way » : the Muses had already won his allegiance. In 1684-5 he was back in England, waiting impatiently for his coming of age.

As soon as he was 21, he went to London, resolved to lead the gay fashionable life of his dreams. Scarcely arrived in the « Modern Babylon », he became the friend of young rakes who introduced him to all the pleasures of the Town, so that he was not long in squandering the

(1) The quotations are taken from Gildon's autobiography in the Appendix to Langbaine's *Lives*.

remainder of the paternal estate. And, « to crown his other imprudences » (1), he was not yet 23 when, being totally ruined, he married a penniless girl, who bore him several children.

At this time he attended the meetings of wits, where he often read verses of his own making. He was a constant frequenter of the *salon* of the « famous » Mrs Behn, « the divine Astraea », who loved to gather round her all the young libertines of the town. The literary fecundity of the « incomparable Mrs Behn » was greater than that of Dryden, and was a perpetual subject of wonder to contemporary writers. Young Gildon was enthusiastic, and later, gave remarkable instances of her extraordinary fluency (2) : « Her Muse was never subject to the curse of bringing forth with Pain : for she always writ with the greatest ease in the world, and that in the midst of company and discourse of other matters. I saw her myself write *Oroonoko* (3) and keep her turn in discoursing with several present in the room. »

Gildon was also, like De Foe and Samuel Wesley (4), a member of the « Athenian Society », a literary club founded by John Dunton, the eccentric Non-conformist bookseller. Gildon was honoured with the task of writing the history of the learned society ; the work was published in 1691, and won the approval of Dunton himself, who long continued a business acquaintance with the young historian, now a writer of vogue. Dunton passed this

(1) Cibber, *Lives of the Poets*, III, 326.

(2) In the Preface to his edition of Mrs Behn's play *The younger Brother* (1696).

(3) *Oroonoko, or the Royal Slave*, the famous tale which inspired a very successful tragedy of Southerne.

(4) (1662-1735), the father of the great Methodist leader.

indulgent judgment on him (1) : « Mr Gildon is well acquainted with the languages and writes with a peculiar briskness which the common Hacks can't boast of ; in regard they want the life and spirit, and the same liberty, and extent of genius. He was always very just in the engagements where I had any concern, and his performances were done as well as the designs would admit. He writ the History of the Athenian Society which contained the just merits of that Cause. »

As Gildon advanced in age, he became more and more « dissatisfied with the tenets of the Church of Rome, that he had imbib'd with his mother's milk ». But the Catholic stamp was so deeply engraved on his mind that, as he tells us himself, « it cost him above 7 years' study and contest before he could entirely shake off all those opinions that had grown with him from a Child » (2). He followed closely the religious controversies of the reign of James the Second (1685-88), and — a fact which shows his sincerity — abandoned Roman Catholicism at a time when Papists were in great favour at Court. The sermons of Dr. Tillotson, who was later lord Archbishop of Canterbury, against Transubstantiation and the Infallibility of the Roman Church, were lent to Gildon by a lawyer « that at the same time cheated him out of 400 pounds » (3). Gildon pardoned this theft, because the discourses of the Reverend Doctor had brought peace to his soul : he definitely abjured the Roman Catholic Church, which he scornfully called thereafter « the Whore of Babylon » (4).

About this time he became acquainted with a group of

(1) Danton's *Life and Errors*, 1703 ed., p. 241.

(2) Appendix to Langbaine's *Lives*.

(3) Appendix to Langbaine's *Lives*.

(4) See the Epistle prefixed to *The Golden Spy* (1709) and Ireland's *View of the principal deistical writers* (1754).

young men, who gathered round Charles Blount, a disciple of Hobbes, and an apostle of philosophical religion (1). Tempted by the doctrine of his new friends, and irresistibly drawn by the desire — frequent among young writers — to shock the bourgeois mind, Gildon became one of the pupils and admirers of Blount ; he was soon chosen as the secretary and historiographer of the Deistical Club.

Since the loss of his fortune, Gildon earned his living by his pen : he had become a « hack-writer » or « Grub-street author », one of the class which, in order to secure a good sale for their writings, sought noisy successes obtained through slander and blackmail, lowered their talent to the coarse tastes of the Vulgar, and, at the bidding of unscrupulous booksellers, embittered contemporary polemics by hastily-written pamphlets. Among Gildon's works published in the year 1692 (2), the most characteristic in this respect are : *The Post-boy robb'd of his Mail*, an adaptation, composed in great part by him, of some licentious letters of the Italian novelist Pallavicino (3), — and *Nuncius Infernalis*, which consists of 2 dialogues, one after the manner of Lucian, the other imitated from Machiavelli's novelle *Belfegor Arcidia-volo* (4). This second part was evidently expected to

(1) He was the chief precursor of Toland. Macaulay, in his *History of England* (chapter XIX, 1693) judged him with excessive severity.

(2) See : List of Gildon's works.

(3) Ferrante Pallavicino, an Italian novelist and satirical Poet (1615-1644) who wrote the *Corriere Svaligiato* (1640). He was beheaded at Avignon as a heretic, after a life full of adventures.

(4) A satire against marriage, where the Devil is brought to admit that Hell itself is preferable to the company of a wife.

ensure the success of the whole book ; it is a good specimen of the coarse wit of the time : the Ghosts of Cuckolds of several nations — Merchants, Quakers, Lawyers, Poets, — describe their wrongs, and are finally condemned by Lucifer, Lord of Hell, to be thrown into « the cuckolds' cave, 10.000 fathoms deeper than the Whoremasters, and next the keeping Cullys, and let each have 2 wives to torment him ». The dialogue ends with these lines, obviously intended for the popular taste, spoken by Lucifer :

« For since their Grandame Eve in Eden fell,
The Sex has learnt the Damning Trade so well,
Where e'er *that* Rules, there's little need of Hell. »

From his relations with the Deists, Gildon derived some profit by publishing books on their theories which obtained the great success of all works of scandal : perhaps this consideration was not absent from his mind when he gave his adhesion to Blount's doctrines. He prepared in 1693 a Collection of letters written by the chief deists — Blount, Richardson, Yaxly, Rogers and himself — to correspondents of high rank ; he gave the Collection a sensational title, *The Oracles of Reason*. Meanwhile, Blount's suicide (August 1693) drew general attention to Gildon's little volume. The success of the *Oracles of Reason* was extraordinary. Many were the divines who, indignant at the temerity of those scorers of revealed religion, retorted in writing (1) : « It is the

(1) *A Conference with a Theist*, by William Nicholls, D. D.; 1696, 8 vo, pp. 266. — *Mr Blount's Oracles of Reason examin'd and answered*, by Josiah King, 1698. — *Moral Essays, together with an answer to some chapters in the Oracles of Reason concerning deism*, by J. Lowde, 1699. — *A Discourse concerning the being and Attributes of God, in answer to the author of the Oracles of Reason*, by S. Clarke. D. D. 1716 (5 th ed. in 1719).

first book I ever saw which did openly avow infidelity ! » exclaimed William Nicholls : and he added, with feigned disdain : « 'This book is chiefly made up of a few letters wrote between some Sparks at London and some Translations made out of one or two Greek and Latin books. » This religious controversy was still going on in 1719 !

Gildon had sufficient business sense to grasp immediately that he had found a rich vein which should be worked without loss of time. In 1695 he collected in one volume Blount's works, to which he prefixed the biography of the famous Deist ; commenting on Blount's death, he 'made an extravagant apology of suicide, and in the heat of enthusiasm announced his resolution of ending his days in the same manner. Perhaps he was sincere and dreamt of martyrdom in a Cause that seemed holy to him. The *Miscellaneous Works* had not as great a success as the *Oracles of Reason*, but they were notwithstanding much discussed, and thus added somewhat to the editor's reputation.

Gildon was chosen by several booksellers as the editor of many compilations. He published with pious care the posthumous works of Mrs Behn. In a volume of *Miscellaneous Letters and Essays* he included an original *Apology for Poetry* which he dedicated to Walter Moyle (1), one of the wits of Will's coffee-house and a wealthy man. He also published *Miscellanies* of poems and maxims ; one of those collections, which appeared in 1692, *Miscellany Poems upon several Occasions*, contains some of his own work : two light pieces entitled *To Sylvia*, and a mediocre imitation of the beginning of the first satire of Persius. In the volume of 1694 — *Chorus Poetarum* — is included another of his poems : *To my friend Mr*

(1) (1672-1721) : Politician and student : a great friend of Congreve's and Dennis's.

Charles Hopkins, on reading his translations out of Ovid and Tibullus.

Thanks to his excellent education, Gildon had a competent knowledge of classical authors. This was universally recognised in his time : David Crawford, who became historiographer of Scotland, chose him to edit his *Imitations of Ovid* (1), and to write the dedication of the book to Lord Boyle. By such work Gildon was able to make a tolerable living. We know that Lintot, the enterprising bookseller who employed him as editor of the *Examen Miscellaneum*, a collection of modern verse, translations from Anacreon and maxims from Greek writers, paid him 5 l. 7 s. 6 d. on the 15 th of November 1702 (2). But the money obtained from booksellers was not the chief resource of our author : like all the writers of his time, distinguished and obscure, he dedicated his books to rich patrons who rewarded the poor writer's outrageous panegyric of their virtue and generosity with ringing gold coins. In order to be introduced to wealthy benefactors, he tried to become the friend of Tom D'Urfey (3), then at the pinnacle of fame : he addressed to him a long and learned letter, full of allusions to the ancient dramatists, in praise of his comedy *The Marriage Hater match'd*, which had been bitterly attacked by envious writers ; and D'Urfey, when he published the comedy (1692), inserted this letter as a preface. In return he wrote the preface to Gildon's first work of imagination *Nuncius Infernalis*, and undertook to introduce the young

(1) *Ovidius Britannicus* (1703) (See List of Gildon's Works).

(2) NICHOLS. *Literary Anecdotes of the 18 th Century*, 1812 ed., VIII, 293. Pope received only 7 l. for the first ed. of the *Rape of the Lock*.

(3) (1653-1723), poet and dramatist. He was the nephew of Honoré d'Urfé, author of the romance of *L'Astrée*.

writer to the literary world : « the modesty of my friend being such, that he would not venture into the world alone. »

A few years later, Gildon succeeded at last in making the acquaintance of patrons of rank. The descendants of the Earl of Rochester chose him as co-editor with Tom Brown (1) of the *Familiar Letters*, written by their ancestor the famous libertine (1697). The Earl of Dorset allowed him to publish several of his original poems (2). About 1701, Gildon was entrusted by the Duke of Buckinghamshire (3) with his *Essay on Poetry*, which had won the praise of Dryden. Gildon published it in *Examen Miscellaneum* and soon after began, under the Duke's direction, a learned commentary on the *Essay* ; but the commentary, through circumstances independent of Gildon's will, was published only after the Duke's death, in 1721.

II

Gildon's career as a playwright

Such high patronage, though profitable, brought little compared to the riches Gildon hoped to accumulate through his plays : for he had soon turned to the drama, then the only kind of literary work that yielded important profits. Already in 1694 he had been involved in a controversy concerning the English Stage. A minor critic named Rymer (4) in a pamphlet entitled : *A short*

(1) (1663-1704). A miscellaneous writer, known chiefly for his violent quarrel with D'Urfey in 1699.

(2) In *A New Miscellany of Original Poems* (1701).

(3) The Duke bore only at that time the title of Marquis of Normanby (see the Preface to the *Laws of Poetry*; 1721).

(4) (1641-1713), known chiefly as the editor of *Fœdera*.

view of Tragedy : its original Excellency and Corruption : with some Reflections on Shakespeare and other Practitioners for the Stage (1692) pretended to scorn the Shakespearean Art and called *Othello* « a bloody farce without salt or savour ». Gildon defended Shakespeare, claiming that he was a great dramatist (1) ; he did not, however, admire him unreservedly, for he was ever very severe in his judgment of others, and declared that Shakespeare was not classical enough. It is curious to remark what he singles out for praise : « Of all Shakespeare's characters », he wrote (2), « I like his clown best : he always speaks Truth, therefore I am pleased with his freedom ; he shuns all Complaisance, therefore I doat on him for his rusticity. Methinks it comes nearest to Nature and Honesty : our Reason was given us to judge of Things, and our Tongues to declare that Judgment ». He agreed with Rymer that *Othello* was not a good play, because one dramatist cannot succeed in painting different passions (3) : « Shakespeare that drew *Othello* so finely has made but a scurvy piece of *Desdemona*. » Shakespeare never was Gildon's model : Lee (4) and Otway (5) appealed more to his taste.

Gildon began his dramatic career very prudently. Mrs

(1) He wrote *Reflections on Mr Rymer's Short View*, in an Essay dedicated to Dryden and inserted in his *Miscellaneous Letters* (1694) (pp. 64 to 118). As M. Huchon rightly surmises (See *Mrs. Montague and her friends*, p. 93 n.) it is undoubtedly by Gildon.

(2) *A comparison between the 2 Stages* (Barry Lane, and Lincoln's Inn Fields) : Pref.

(3) *Love's Victim* : Pref.

(4) (1653-1662) : he followed Dryden's method in his most successful tragedy, the *Rival Queens* (1677).

(5) (1652-1685) : two of his tragedies, the *Orphan*, and *London Preserved*, still keep the stage.

Behn had left him the manuscript of a comedy, the *Younger Brother, or the Amorous Jilt*, which she had written hastily in the presence of her admirers. In 1696, through Gildon's efforts, it was played at the Royal Theatre ; Gildon suppressed many tedious passages and carefully altered a few political reflections, but, in spite of these changes, the play was a failure. Gildon hastened to explain (1) : « Out of respect to her Memory and a deference which was too nice to her Judgment, he [Gildon] durst not make any alterations in it, but what were absolutely necessary, and then only in the first and second acts which reflected on the Whigs — when, if he had alter'd the jejune style of the 3 last acts betwixt Prince Frederick and Mirtilla, which was too heavy, in all probability it would have been more to the Advantage of his Purse ». To obtain some reward for his work, he published the comedy in its entirety, with a short biography, very agreeably and briskly written, of the famous authoress (2). The edition was quickly sold, as the name of the « incomparable Mrs Behn » on the title-page of a book was always a sufficient passport to success.

In the following year, Gildon having increased confidence in his own talents, produced in the same theatre his first tragedy the *Roman Bride's Revenge*. He explained its failure by its hurried composition (3) : « The *Roman Bride's Revenge* was writ in one month, so it had the fate of those untimely births : as hasty a Death. » It was a mediocre classical tragedy, in which

(1) and (3) See his autobiography (appendix to Langbaine's *Lives*) and Genest's *History of the English Stage*, II, 112.

(2) He dedicated the book to a friend of Creech and Dennis, Colonel Codrington (1668-1710) who, by this time, had acquired the reputation of a wit and a scholar.

Gildon tried, without success, to imitate the style of « *Perry Lee* » (1). Though admitting defects in his play, he was proud both of its complex plot, which was entirely of his own invention except for a hint taken from *Camma of Galata* (2), — and of the bloody catastrophe which Lee would have much approved : « the Moral is one of the most noble of any of our Modern Plays, it being to give us an example in the Punishment of Martian that no consideration in the World ought to make us delay the service of our country ». (3)

In 1698, Gildon obtained a creditable success with *Phaeton, or the Fatal Divorce*, a tragedy, which ran several nights at the Royal Theatre. The plot was taken from a French opera of the same title by Quinault, but Gildon modified Quinault's conception after a close study of Euripides' dramatic style in *Medea*, and blended the character of Phaeton in a strange manner with that of Jason (4). Proud of the success, which he certainly deserved, Gildon published the tragedy, dedicating it to the Right Honourable Charles Montague, Chancellor of the Exchequer. He added a refutation of Collier's famous pamphlet *A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage*.

Eager to retain his new popularity, Gildon turned *Measure for Measure* into an opera ; the historian Old-

(1) This expression is borrowed from Dennis's preface to Gildon's tragedy *The Patriot* (1703).

(2) *Camma, reine de Galatie*, a tragedy by Thomas Corneille, first played at the Hotel de Bourgogne on Jan. 28 th, 1691. Published in the same year.

(3) See the Appendix to Langbaine's *Lives*.

(4) See a favourable judgment of this tragedy in Genest's *History* II, 138.

mixon (1) wrote a prologue and an epilogue (2), the famous actor Betterton took the part of Angelo, and the composer Purcell (3) wrote the music. Gildon simplified Shakespeare's plot and introduced masques and musical entertainments at the end of every act : dances of wizards and witches, or of tritons and nereids, disfigure Shakespeare's poignant drama. In this Gildon was only following the example of D'Avenant (4), who had already, in 1662, altered the play to suit contemporary taste, giving it the title of *Law against Lovers*. Gildon's opera, which had a fair success, was played at Lincoln's Inn Fields, which had just been opened by Betterton. (5)

But it was in 1701 that Gildon obtained his only real theatrical triumph with his tragedy *Love's Victim, or the Queen of Wales* (6), also produced at Lincoln's Inn Fields. Gildon's model for the dramatic structure was Otway, whose panegyric he wrote in the preface to the play ; he had obeyed Betterton's suggestions, and combined the rigid classical tragedy with operatic elements such as processions of druids on the stage, magnificent scenery, and the frequent use of thunderstorms. This tragedy brought Gildon what he most desired, financial

(1) John Oldmixon (1673-1742) began his literary career as a poet, and in 1700 produced at Drury Lane an opera *The Grove*, with music by D. Purcell.

(2) Supposed to be spoken by Shakespeare's Ghost.

(3) Not Henry Purcell, but his less famous brother Daniel (1660-1717).

(4) (1606-1668), the well-known dramatist who mangled many of Shakespeare's plays.

(5) Strangely enough, this opera was advertised in the edition of Gildon's tragedy *Love's Victim* as *Measure for Measure*, a comedy alter'd from *Beaumont and Fletcher*, by Mr Gilden.

(6) See an analysis of the play in Genest's *History*, II, 246.

success, and also the protection of Lord Halifax to whom it was dedicated.

In 1702, Gildon wrote an adaptation of Lee's *Junius Brutus*, which had been forbidden by the Lord Chamberlain as being an « antimonarchical play » (1), after it had run for three nights (1691). Gildon transported the scene from Rome to Florence, and made Cosmo di Medici the hero instead of Brutus : for the Master of the Revels had refused to license his first adaptation of the play, in which he had merely suppressed « all reflections on Monarchy » (2). Under its new title *The Patriot, or the Italian Conspiracy*, Gildon's tragedy — with the addition of songs composed by Daniel Purcell (3) — was relatively successful. The Prologue was written by John Dennis (4), with whom Gildon was to entertain close relations for the rest of his life ; the Epilogue, by the famous Farquhar (5). Encouraged by these renowned patrons, Gildon, when he published his play in 1703, boldly dedicated it to the Queen ; the Duke of Leeds presented it to Her Majesty, at the same time asking her to reward the author. The Queen immediately wrote to her tyrannical counsellor, the Duchess of Marlborough, keeper of the Privy Purse « to ask her how much would be proper ». (6)

(1) Some lines on the effeminacy and immorality of Tarquin had been interpreted as a reflection on Charles the Second.

(2) See the Preface to the tragedy, and Genest's *History*, II, 276.

(3) This day is published a set of airs in 4 parts, perform'd in the tragedy call'd *The Italian Conspiracy*, written by Mr Dan. Purcell. 1 s. 6 d. (Advertisement in the papers for Dec. 181, 1702).

(4) John Dennis (1657-1734), Pope's victim and bitterest enemy.

(5) George Farquhar (1678-1707), the famous actor and playwright.

(6) *Hist. Mss. Comm.* 8 th Report, p. 51.

We do not know how much Gildon received from his Sovereign, but it is not likely that the rapacious Duchess was, contrary to her habits, generously inclined towards an obscure playwright.

During the last years of William the Third's reign, Gildon's reputation as a dramatic critic was firmly established. The booksellers Thomas Leigh and William Turner commissioned him to re-write and complete the biographical dictionary published in 1691 by Langbaine (1) under the following title : *The Lives and Characters of the English Dramatic Poets*. He was also chosen by the enemies of Bevil Higgons (2), a poor Jacobite writer, to ridicule his tragedy, the *Generous Conqueror* ; to merciless criticism of the play, Gildon added general ideas concerning the English stage : he extolled Shakespeare and Jonson, attacked Dryden for lack of originality, and reproached Steele for not being sufficiently classical.

About this time, Gildon was the intimate of most of the great living authors, and of renowned actors and actresses : Mrs Bracegirdle (3), Mrs Porter (4), and Betterton (5),

(1) Gerard Langbaine, the Younger (1656-1702), known chiefly as a dramatic biographer.

(2) Higgons (1670-1735) was accused, when he published his tragedy, of having tried to defend the Divine Right and Impeccability of James the Second. Gildon's book against him is entitled : *A Comparison between the 2 Stages* (1702).

(3) Anne Bracegirdle's (1683-1748) appearance in Gildon's *Love's Victim* (1711) was one of her greatest triumphs, and Gildon thanked her in the Preface to his tragedy. This did not prevent him, a few months afterwards, from giving the following opinion of her virtue : « I believe no more on it than I believe of John Mandevil ». (*A Comparison*, etc. p. 18).

(4) In Gildon's tragedy, *Love's Victim*, she played the part of Tyrelus, a boy of 12, and spoke the Epilogue. She died in 1765.

(5) Gildon's *Life of Betterton* is rather a dissertation on

who played the chief part in all his plays, and whose biography he wrote a few weeks after the great actor's death in 1710. It is very likely, too, that he himself played secondary parts in his tragedies, according to a frequent custom at the time (1). He probably was an indifferent player. He certainly was an indifferent dramatist, though at least honest in indicating his models and sources, and he does not perhaps deserve Young's severe satire of his talent in the *Love of Fame* : (2)

« (Hence) Gildon rails, that raven of the pit
Who thrives upon the carcasses of wit ».

Gildon's relations with actresses did not help to improve the detestable reputation he had acquired from his connections with the Deists. He led, in fact, a very dissolute life. De Poe, always self-indulgent but hard upon others, branded Gildon's vices in doggerel lines, in a poem entitled *More Reformation* (July 1703) :

« G—— writes Satyr, rails at Blasphemy,
And the next Page, lampoons the Deity ;
Exposes his Darinda's Vicious Life,
But keeps six whores and starves his modest wife ;
Sets up for a reformer of the town,
Himself a first Rate Rake below Lampoon...
All men to errors and mistakes enclin'd,
To sin 's a vice in Nature, and we find

drama and the dramatic art : to it was added a comedy by Betterton *The Amorous Widow* (imitated from Molière) which had been successfully acted on the 10th of January 1675. See *Times L. S.* for Sept. 14th, 1922 : p. 584).

(1) Waller. *Universal Biography*.

(2) This is Edward Young (1683-1765), the author of the *Night*. The quotation is taken from the seventh satire of the *Love of Fame*.

And Reprehension 's not at all uncivil,
But to have Rakes reprove us, that's the Devil ! »

Evidently, in these outspoken lines, De Foe is merely exaggerating stories that were commonly reported of Gildon's life ; his cynical behaviour and youthful bluster contributed certainly to give credence to those rumours. But the attacks against his private conduct became so violent, that he felt bound to protest, though at the same time he admitted his incredulity in matters of religion. In the preface to *Chorus Poetarum* he wrote, in answer to slanders spread by his adversaries : « I confess I was sensibly touch'd with the Scandalous Judgment those Gentlemen made of my morals, which I do without Arrogance pretend to be as orthodox as any Man's, how Heterodox soever my other opinions may be thought by some ». But the mere fact that he proclaimed himself a deist was sufficient to make good souls reckon him among the worst rakes, and it undoubtedly injured him financially, as it turned away the patronage of rich and influential lords. As he advanced in age, his youthful enthusiasm for doctrines which seemed revolutionary and subversive to most Englishmen gave way to his practical sense. Little by little he turned to the Established Church, and allowed himself to be converted by Charles Leslie's (1) poor arguments in favour of Christianity, contained in a long pamphlet with this cumbrous title : *A Short and Easy Method with the Deists, wherein the truth of the Christian Religion is demonstrated by such rules as stand upon the conviction of our outward Senses,*

(1) (1650-1722). Non-juror and controversialist, known for his quarrels with the Quakers and the chief Whig journalists of the time, Tutchin and De Foe, in opposition to whom he started a paper entitled *The Rehearsal*. The first edition of his *Short and Easy Method* was issued in 1698.

and which are incompatible with the Fabulous Histories of the Heathen Deities, the Delusions of Mahomet, or any other Imposture whatsoever.

Resolved to reap the utmost benefit from his conversion, Gildon proclaimed it widely. In July 1704, Leslie addressed to him a long gratulatory letter, and the new proselyte wrote a treatise, the *Deist's Manual*, in which he abjured all his former errors. He dedicated this production to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Thus back in the ranks of loyal English Protestants, Gildon easily found lucrative work. The Whigs and Tories, at this time, were waging a terrible newspaper war, and each was eager to enrol new pamphleteers in his service. Gildon had no fixed political opinions, and let it be known that he was ready to offer his talent to whatever party felt inclined to reward his labours.

III

Gildon as pamphleteer

Gildon's first political pamphlet showed him that he was treading dangerous ground. The High-Tory leaders were at this time greatly incensed against the Queen for having raised a Whig ministry to power. They knew her secret attachment to her exiled brother, the Pretender, and resolved to take their revenge by balking her hopes. On the 15 th of November 1705, they brought forward in Parliament a proposal that Anne should invite to England the Heir Presumptive to the throne, the Electress Sophia. Thus they affronted the Queen publicly, and at the same time threw confusion into the ranks of the Whigs, who were greatly alarmed by this suspicious zeal for the Protestant Succession. The Tories hoped that

by this move they would cause a quarrel between the reigning Queen and the Queen to be — the touchy and dominating character of the latter was well known — and that they might take advantage of the trouble that would ensue to return to power themselves (1). Their plan failed, but they had the good fortune to lay their hands on two very important letters. One, dated Nov. 3rd, 1705, had been sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury by Princess Sophia, and seemed to intimate her wish to visit England, so as to be ready in case of Anne's sudden death. The other had been sent on Jan. 12th, 1706, to the Earl of Stanford by Sir Rowland Gwynne, an English Gentleman at the Court of Hanover : Gwynne showed that in order to baffle the endeavours of the Jacobites, it was necessary that the Electress should come to England, and he expressed plainly a suspicion of the loyalty of the Queen and her Ministers towards the Protestant Succession. Both letters were given by a Tory leader to poor Gildon, who saw how much money their publication would bring in. Not suspecting that he was being used as a tool by the Tories in their war against the Queen, he published the letters, and added a review of those sensational documents, in which he dwelt at length on the advantages that would ensue from Sophia's visit. Urged perhaps by the Tories, he even dedicated his pamphlet, with a touching ingenuity, to the Queen. The result soon appeared. His work was censured by both Houses and declared « a seditious libel, tending to create a misunderstanding between Her Majesty and the Princess Sophia ». The author of the libel was easily discovered ; Gildon indeed did not seek concealment. On June 8th,

(1) In the old *Histoire d'Angleterre* by Rapin-Thoyras (1749) these curious negotiations are very clearly explained. (vol. XII, p. 170, etc.).

1706, the Secretary of State, Robert Harley, issued a warrant thus worded : « Charles Gildon to be apprehended for being concern'd in publishing a seditious libel ». (1) On the 14th, Harley issued a second warrant to the keeper of Newgate, ordering him to receive the culprit, who had been examined and confessed his guilt. Without further delay, Harley announced Gildon's arrest to the English Ambassador in Hanover, Mr Howe : « I do not know what Sir Rowland Gwin does at Hamburg », he wrote (2), « but one Charles Gildon who has printed a book to justify Sir Rowland Gwyn's letter, and impudently dedicated it to the Queen is committed to Newgate. He was the person who reprinted Sir Rowland Gwyn's letter: he takes the writing of the book upon himself, but it may be he will be obliged to produce the true author or authors ere long. »

The hope expressed by the astute minister, who sought to reach his political enemies in this way, was never realised : Gildon did not inform against any one, perhaps because he did not know whom to denounce or because he feared revenge. On the 18th of June, he wrote to Harley's secretary, Erasmus Lewis (3), « desiring to know whether he would be pleased to take his bail, as Mr Stephen had satisfied Mr Borrett (4), having two very substantial men, one with five or six thousand pounds ; the other, besides his trade in the bookselling, has a place of 50 l. a year for his life » (5). This offer was accepted, and Gildon did not remain long

(1) *Public Record Office, S. P. dom. Anne.* Entry book 77.

(2) Letter dated 18th June 1706 (*P. R. O. — S. P. foreign.* Hanover, entry book).

(3) (1670-1751), a friend of Swift and Pope.

(4) Solicitor to the Treasury.

(5) *Hist. Mss. Comm. — Mss. of the Duke of Portland*, VII, 202.

« *Circled in Newgate's cold embrace* » (1).

He was tried on the 12th of February 1707 at the Guildhall, and found guilty (2). Sentence was deferred till the following term. Terrified by the mere idea of the pillory and prison, Gildon sought a protector everywhere : he applied to Richard Steele, who had just been appointed gazetteer, on the recommendation of Arthur Mainwaring (3). Honest, kind-hearted Dick Steele was always ready to help a brother-writer in distress. He wrote to the Queen, on behalf of Gildon, a petition for a *Noli Prosequi*, the first draught of which, in his own hand, has been preserved in his papers (4) : « To the Queen's most Excellent Majesty. The humble Petition of Charles Gildon sheweth. That y^r Petitioner has by an unhappy mistake and not out of any malicious design against the Happiness and Quiet of y^r Majesty's Government been concern'd in publishing a pamphlet call'd S^r R. Gwinn's letter etc. That y^r Pet^r has had a liberal education and fortune and expects this Term a sentence worse than Death for the same. That he is under the greatest sorrow and contrition for this His high offense against so good and gracious a Queen, and shall hereafter abhor and avoid all license in speech and writing unbefitting a quiet, humble, and Peaceable subject. Y^r P^{ty} therefore most humbly Prays, etc. » Harley received this petition on the 2nd of May ; he read it on the 4th, and wrote a short note on the paper : « He

(1) De Foe, *Elegy on the Author of the True-born Englishman*.

(2) *Post boy*, Feb. 13th, 1707.

(3) (1668-1712). M. P., auditor of inquests, member of the Kit-Kat Club, one of the heads of the Whig Party.

(4) *British Museum. Add. Mss.* 5145. This document has been pointed out by Aitken, *Life of Steele*, I, 152.

to apply again after sentence » (1). At last, on the 17th, Gildon appeared before the Bench. The judge soon gathered that he had been merely a tool, ignorant of the grave significance of his act. Gildon escaped imprisonment, but was condemned to a fine of 100 l., a large sum for a poor hack-writer. On the 27th of November, we find him sending a new petition to Harley, to be relieved from his fine (2), and we may believe that this request was granted, since it was presented by Mainwaring, who was very powerful with the ministers.

Gildon had learnt from his misfortunes the danger of meddling with politics ; henceforward he behaved like « a quiet and peaceable subject », and paid court to men in office. He cherished the hope of being appointed, like De Foe, to some minor official post. In July 1708, he wrote a poem in praise of Marlborough's victory at Oudenarde, and to obtain pardon for his past offence, dedicated it to the Electoral Prince of Hanover, afterwards George the First. He kept up more studiously than ever his acquaintances with men of renown, both in the literary and political world. He frequently visited « ancient Mr Wycherley », who was still held in reverence by the wits ; in one of these visits he met the youthful Pope, whom he described later as a « little Aesopic sort of an Animal », — which, naturally enough, incensed the touchy poet (3). He remained on good terms with Steele to whom, in gratitude for his kindness, he dedicated his *Life of Betterton* : « The following piece was scarce yet an Embryo », he wrote, « when I designed its full growth for your Protection. » In return, Steele, under his favourite pseudonym

(1) *Mss. of the Duke of Portland*, VIII, 349.

(2) *Mss. of the Duke of Portland*, VIII, 353.

(3) In the *Life of William Wycherley* : the quarrel between Pope and Gildon makes the subject of my 4th chapter.

of Isaac Bickerstaff (1), wrote the following humorous preface for a *Grammar of the English Tongue*, which Gildon began, in 1710, at the request of a bookseller named Brightland : « The following treatise being submitted to my censure, that I may pass it with Integrity, I must declare that as Grammar in general is on all hands allow'd the Foundation of all Arts and Sciences, so it appears to me that this Grammar of the English Tongue has done that justice to our language which till now it never obtained. The Text will improve the most ignorant, and the notes will employ the more learned. I therefore enjoin all my female Correspondents to buy, read and study this Grammar, that their letters may be something less enigmatic ; and on all my male Correspondents likewise, who make no conscience of false-spelling and False-English, I lay the same Injunction, on pain of having their epistles expos'd in their own proper dress, in my Lucubrations. — I. B. censor. » Gildon hoped much from the success of this grammar, which was dedicated « To the Queen's most excellent Majesty ». He contributed also to a translation of Lucian's works, and wrote a Latin Grammar (2). He thought these academic treatises likely to recommend him to the great minister Harley, who had returned to power after a short eclipse. There are extant two letters of Gildon to the famous statesman (3) (1711).

(1) It was under this pseudonym that Steele wrote for the *Tatler* (1709). The name Isaac Bickerstaff had already been assumed by Swift when he attacked John Partridge the almanac-maker (1707), and it was, later on, taken by De Foe when he wrote his mock-prophecies, the *British Visions* (1711).

(2) This is evidently *Cases in Latin*, 3 copies of which Gildon sent to Addison in Feb. 1719 (B. M. Mss. E. G. 1971).

(3) B. M. Add. Mss. 4163.

He began by declaring that « he knew Harley's own excellent parts, and the character he had of a Favourer of Men of letters and his generosity to such », then went on to explain a series of projects which, he said, would enable Harley to earn an eternal reputation as a « Great Protector of Arts and Sciences ». The first of Gildon's projects was for the promotion of virtue and morality : « Some ingenious person was to compose a Speech with all the flowers of Oratory and Rhetoric, and then he himself, if duly qualified, or another person indued with all the Graces and advantages of speaking was to pronounce it in a house to be built for that purpose in the centre of Lincoln's Inn Square » (1). Gildon obviously repented the license of his theatrical career, since this project tended to create opposition against the stage, by means of moralizing lectures destined to « advance the polite Sciences. » Another proposal of Gildon was for the founding of an English Academy on the same lines as the French : the idea was by no means novel. Roscommon had already brought it forward (2), then De Foe in his *Essay upon Projects* (1697) and Prior in his *Carmen Seculare* (1700) ; and a few months after Gildon, Swift made exactly the same proposal in his *Letter to the Earl of Oxford* (Harley). Gildon's last project was intended by him to prejudice in his

(1) This project was not fully explained in Gildon's first letter to Harley, but we know in what it consisted from a passage of *A Reinforcement of the Reasons proving that the Stage is an Antichristian Diversion* (Oct. 1733, p. 31), by the Rev. George Anderson, who was a friend of Gildon's, and probably influenced his sudden dislike for the stage.

(2) Dillon Wantworth, Earl of Roscommon had attempted the formation of a literary Academy in imitation of that at Caen, in which town he had lived, during the Commonwealth. He was a classical poet (1633-85) and, according to Pope, the only moral writer of the reign of the Merry Monarch.

favour Harley, who was a specialist in economic questions. To induce the great statesman to grant him an audience, Gildon declared himself ready to lay before him « a method of Improving Her Majesty's Revenue 50.000 or 60.000 l. per an. without injury to any one » ; he does not give any more details of this marvellous project. He sent with his letters copies of his books, at least of those he thought likely to interest Harley, for example, his *Grammar*, for which he shamelessly claimed a reward in cash : « I have yet had no benefit of any consequence from the great pains and labour I have been at in this work but the hopes of a public service, and wish that my circumstances did not compel me to seek any other. But since those are so narrow I hope from our true Patriots another Reward more agreeable to the necessity of my affairs » : and he went on to insinuate that among those patriots, Robert Harley, Chancellor of the Exchequer, was the most likely to be generous.

At the same time, in order to obtain support for his demands, Gildon sent some of his books to Edward Harley, brother of the Minister, « to divert a leisure hour » (1). He tried to interest him also in his proposals, which, he repeated, were designed « to advance the polite Arts to a greater perfection than they have yet known in these nations. » This clever campaign probably did not fulfil the extravagant hopes entertained by Gildon, who was far from being modest. It is very likely, however, that he received some money, for at the end of his life we find him, poorer and more beggarly than ever, sending new petitions to the Harley family, through the medium of their great friend Prior.

During the reign of Queen Anne, a poor hack-writer like Gildon was at the mercy of rapacious booksellers,

(1) *B. M. Add. Mss.* 4163.

who compelled him to lead a life of drudgery and semi-starvation, so that he had little time for original work. In 1709, Gildon was the chief contributor to two collections of anecdotes entitled the *Golden Spy*, dedicated to Swift : these were stories tending to show the corruptive power of gold in European Courts, and telling with many details the « scandalous amours » of Fouquet, Mme de Montpensier, and other worthies of the Court of Versailles. In 1710 Gildon came under the tyranny of Curll, a bookseller famous for his piracies and his obscene publications, who was justly vilified by De Foe in a well-known paper (1) : « he is odious in his person, scandalous in his Fame, he is mark'd by Nature, for he has a bawdy Countenance, and a debauched Mien, his Tongue is an Echo of all the beastly Language his Shop is fill'd with, and Filthiness drivels in the very Tone of his Voice. » Curll hired poor, starving Gildon to add to Rowe's six-volume edition of Shakespeare (2) a piratical seventh volume, containing Shakespeare's Poems. Gildon was very successful in this task (3). He wrote an essay on the drama in Ancient Literature and in England, compiled a Glossary of archaic words in Shakespeare, and added summaries of the plays. The book, which was dedicated to the Earl of Peterborough, would be far from contemptible, if Shakespeare's Sonnets were not lost amid a flood of inferior poetry by other authors.

(1) *Against the Sin of Curlicism, in Mist's Journal* for April 2nd 1710. — Curll (1675-1747) replied in a pamphlet entitled *Curlicism Displayed*. He was attacked in the *Dunciad*.

(2) Rowe (1671-1718) was poet-laureate. His intimacy with Pope had exposed him to Curll's hatred. His edition of Shakespeare was reissued in 1714 in 9 vols., when Curll again issued Gildon's work as a 9th vol.

(3) *Notes and Queries*. 2nd s. XII, 349.

Gildon seems to have been one of the miserable hacks regularly employed by Curll. He lived in a garret in Chancery Lane, and his nightly drudgery by candle-light began to affect his eyesight. His letters to Harley (1711) show that already he could scarcely see what he wrote. Gradually his sight grew worse, and by the end of the year 1718 he was blind.

It was at the precise moment when, to the anguish of the struggle for his daily bread, was added the terror of being less and less able to see the paper he was obliged to cover with hurried lines all day long and a great part of the night, that he found himself launched into a quarrel with the most formidable antagonist of the time, Alexander Pope. He was one of the « distinguished Frogs of Helicon », that tried in vain to devour the dread « Wasp of Twickenham » (1).

IV

Gildon's quarrel with Pope, and last days

Gildon's first attack against Pope was made in 1714 : perhaps it was due not merely to natural antipathy, but to the fact that any book written against Pope was sure of a prompt answer, and hence of a good sale, since the public was always interested in literary polemics. In the *New Rehearsal* (2) — a very dull comedy — Gildon bitterly

(1) These curious expressions are taken from the *Daily Journal* (April and May 1728), which had begun a violent quarrel with Pope.

(2) The epigraph of this pamphlet is significant in itself :

« Why is he honour'd with a Poet's Name,
Who neither knows nor would observe a rule ? »

(Roscommon).

criticism the plays of Rowe, Pope's great friend, whom he described under the name of Bays the Younger in these insulting terms : « A Pedantic Reciting Poet, admired by the Mob and himself, but justly condemn'd by Men of Sense and Learning, and a despiser of Rules and Art. » Pope was introduced in the same work as « Sawney (1) Dapper, a young Poet of the Modern Stamp, an easy versifier, conceited, and a contemner secretly of all others. » To enrage Pope further, Gildon added scurrilous abuse of the *Rape of the Lock*. Pope was very touchy on this special point, as the poem was his most cherished work : De Foo had incurred his rage, and earned a niche in the *Dunciad* merely because he had ventured on a few slight taunts about sylphs and gnomes (2). So we may well imagine Pope's fury at seeing himself and his friend thus insulted by a low hack-writer.

Gildon renewed his attack a few years later. He had become the faithful jackal of the bilious critic John Dennis, who probably aided him to find work with the booksellers. Dennis certainly collaborated with him in one of his most discreditable productions, *A true character of Mr Pope*, published by Curll in 1716 (3). But the worst was yet to come. On the 3rd of May, 1718, the *Evening Post* announced the publication of the *Life of William Wycherley, Esq* (4); by Charles Gildon Gent., with a

(1) Sawney is a corruption of Sandy, the Scottish abbreviation of Alexander.

(2) See *A System of Magic* (1720). Already in *The Life of Mr Duncan Campbell* (1720), De Foo published verses by a certain Mr Stanhope, intended to ridicule Pope's poem.

(3) In the first edition of his *Key to the Dunciad*, Curll declared that Gildon was the author of the book. This declaration was omitted in subsequent editions, and in the *Curll and Dennis* was named as the writer.

(4) Wycherley had died on the 1st of Jan. 1717. On the title-

character of Mr Wycherley and his writings by the Lord Landsdown. To which are added some familiar Letters written by Mr Wycherley and a true copy of his last Will and Testament. Price 1 s. Printed for E. Curll (1). The following paragraph in the book was calculated to incense Pope to the highest degree : Gildon recounts a meeting with Pope in Wycherley's chambers, and speaks scornfully of Pope's « rustick parent » about the time of the sudden death of the latter : « I remember I was once to wait on Mr Wycherley and found in his Chamber this little Aesopic sort of an Animal in his own cropt Hair, and Dress agreeable to the Forest he came from. I confess the Gentleman was very silent all my stay there, and scarce utter'd three Words on any Subject we talk'd of, nor cou'd I guess at what sort of Creature he was, and shou'd indeed have guess'd all the Pretenses of Mankind round before I shou'd have imagined him a Wit and Poet. I thought indeed he might be some Tenant's Son of his, who might make his Court for continuance in his Lease on the Death of his Rustick Parent, but was sufficiently surpris'd when Mr Wycherley afterwards told me he was Poetically inclin'd and wrote tolerably smooth Verses... » Gildon continues in this abusive tone for five whole pages.

This was the book to which Pope referred, when, in

page of the book, Gildon is not named (see List of Gildon's works). The public was intended to suppose that Lord Landsdowne was the author of the whole. This was one of Curll's favourite tricks.

(1) In Gildon's work, Wycherley's poetry was roughly handled, a fact which displeased Dennis, so that, later, Gildon had to apologise : « I am sorry I have not pleased you in what I have said of Mr Wycherley » (Letter dated Aug. 11 th, 1721, and published by Dennis in his *Remarks upon several Passages in the Preliminaries to the Dunciad*, etc.).

order to explain plausibly his final rupture with Addison, he made to Spence (1) the following justification of his conduct : « Gildon wrote a thing about Wycherley in which he had abused both me and my relations very grossly. Lord Warwick himself told me one day that it was in vain for me to endeavour to be well with Mr Addison, that his jealous temper could never admit of a settled friendship between us ; and, to convince me of what he had said, assured me that Addison had encouraged Gildon to publish those scandals, and had given him ten guineas after they were published ». And Nichols in his *Illustrations of the Literary History of the 18th century* asserts plainly : « Gildon abused Mr Pope very scandalously in an anonymous pamphlet of the *Life of Mr Wycherley* printed by Curll » (2). It is curious to find that the biographers of Pope and Addison agree unanimously that this *Life of Wycherley*, from which we quote, had never existed outside Pope's malignant imagination (3). Pope's allegations had a firm basis, but his hostility to Addison had shown itself long before the *Life of Wycherley* appeared, for the famous attack on Addison under the character of Atticus dates from July 1715, and was provoked by the fact that Addison encouraged Tickell, author of a translation of the *Iliad* which was intended to compete with Pope's translation. It may be, however, that, after hearing Warwick's story, Pope sent di-

(1) Spence (1699-1768) related this bit of scandal in his invaluable *Anecdotes* (p. 148). It was also recounted in similar terms by Warburton in his comments on Pope's *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot* (1751 ed. of Pope's *Works*, IV, 25-27).

(2) 1817 ed. vol. II, 727 n.

(3) See for example Mr Courthope's *Addison* (VII) and the D. N. B.

rectly to Addison a copy of the extract on the character of Atticus (1).

It remains to inquire into the truth of Pope's allegation, and to see if he had any serious reasons for believing the Earl of Warwick's gossip. It seems he had, — for there is extant a letter, dated the 12th of February 1719, which Gildon dictated to his amanuensis and sent to Addison (2). This letter proves that there had been relations of some kind between the two men : Gildon alludes to past correspondence, and reminds Addison that he had sent him one of his books as a New Year gift, and is still waiting for « the relief which Justice required to his sufferings » ; he adds that he is troubled by some rumours according to which the collection of letters he sent him had given him offence. Finally, « to incite his native generosity to be the more active in his cause », he sends him 3 copies of his *Cases in Latin*, in the hope that Addison, still powerful with the government which he had just left on account of ill-health, would undertake to procure for him a small annuity. It is very likely that Addison, who loved to appear a generous patron, sent 10 guineas to Gildon in answer to this appeal. But was the money sent because Gildon had abused Pope in the *Life of Wycherley* ? It is very doubtful : Addison, it is true, never felt any sympathy for Pope, and probably read Gildon's attack with pleasure. It may be that Lord War-

(1) I had long concluded that Gildon's *Life of Wycherley* must be in existence, and had traced a copy in the New-York Public Library, when I found I had been forestalled by Mr George Sherburn, who described Gildon's book in a very interesting communication to the *Times L. S.* for May 11th, 1922. But all the facts recounted in these pages about Addison's attitude in the quarrel are new.

(2) B. M. Mss. E. G. 1971.

wick, Addison's brother-in-law, knew of the gift of money to Gildon. He may, during a temporary arrangement with Addison, in order to be revenged on him, have told Pope, either in good faith or maliciously, that the money was given for the purpose he alleged, knowing that Pope was not likely to let such an injury pass unpunished. It is quite certain that Pope had no reason to doubt the truth of Lord Warwick's story.

Pope considered Gildon a contemptible enemy, and did not reply with the virulence which the poor hack-writer desired, in order to promote the sale of his books. Gildon, Pope thought, was an insignificant satellite of Dennis, for whom also he affected the greatest disdain :

*« If Dennis writes and rails in furious pet,
I'll answer Dennis when I am in debt.
If meagre Gildon draws his meaner quill,
I wish the man a dinner, and sit still »* (1).

A curious fact is that Dennis was ashamed of Gildon's friendship and deemed it convenient to deny his close relations with him ; he published two letters written to him by Gildon, the respectful tone of which, he maintained, sufficiently showed that the writer was not an intimate friend of his. « Now, is it not plain », Dennis claimed, « that any one who sends such compliments to an other, has not been us'd to write in Partnership with him to whom he sends them? » (2) And yet both writers had jointly published, on the 5 th of February 1720, a polemical work entitled *A New Project for the Regulation of the Stage, by Mr D-nis and Mr G-don*. The authors supported the Lord Chamberlain in his quarrel with Steele,

(1) *Epistle to Arbuthnot*. In later editions the word *venal* was substituted for *meaner*.

(2) *Remarks upon several Passages*, etc. 1722.

whose licence to play at Drury Lane theatre had just been suppressed for « great misbehaviour ». Gildon's ingratitude towards his former patron met with success, as a second edition of the book was issued 3 days after the first (1). Indeed, Pope was right in uniting Gildon and Dennis, both workers under Curll's rod, in the same shameful immortality in the *Dunciad* :

« He [Gildon] sloth'd among the dull of ancient days,
Safe, where no critics damn, no duns molest,
Where'er I Wrote us, Ward and Gildon rest... »
[II, 294].

« Ah — is, — ah ! what ill-starr'd rage
Divides a friendship long confirm'd by age ?
Blockheads with reason wicked wits abhor,
But — — — — — the people's barbarous civil war.
Enter — — — — — my sons ! be foes no more !
Nor part — — — — — with true critics' gore ! » (2).
[III, 173].

Pope, however, underrated Gildon ; for one of the latter's works, the *Complete Art of Poetry*, which was published in 1727, the year in which he became completely blind, shows that he had real merit as a critic. Pope, who could not appreciate a book which aimed so many poisoned shafts at his poetical kingship, might have said with justice that Gildon had but poorly applied in his works the rules he prescribed so clearly. We must acknowledge, however, that Gildon has at least summed up adequately the chief principles of classical art ; he possessed erudition, though he was often pedantic in the display of it.

(1) *Advertisement* in the *Daily Post* for Feb. 24th, 1728.

(2) For all those passages see the *Remarks on the Dunciad*.

The *Complete Art of Poetry* consists of 5 dialogues, the titles of which show the spirit of the whole work :

1. Of the Nature, Use, Excellence, Rise and Progress of Poetry ;
2. Of the Use and Necessity of Rules in Poetry ;
3. Of the Manner, Rules and Art of composing Epigrams, Pastorals, Odes, etc. ;
4. Of Tragedy and Comedy ; how to draw the Plot from the characters of both ;
5. The Rules of the Epic or Narrative Poem, of the Poetic Diction or Language, and of English numbers.

The frequent repetition of the word *rule* is enough to prove how intolerantly classical were Gildon's theories : according to him, « no Modern had any merit but what he owed to the rules and precedents of the Ancients » (1). Shakespeare, in his opinion, was great only when he observed the rules : « He had a genius, indeed, capable of coming up to the rules, but not sufficient to find them out himself, though it be plain from his own words he saw the absurdities of his own conduct... Sir Philip Sidney had discovered the faults of the English Stage in his *Apologie for Poetrie*, and Shakespeare himself had written one or two almost regular plays; therefore Shakespeare's errors are the more inexcusable ». To Gildon, Shakespeare was tolerable only in extracts ; and at the end of his *Complete Art* he published a selection of beauties from Shakespeare's plays in modernized English, entitled *Shakespeariana*. Gildon's book was, on the whole, a good code for beginners, or, according to the poet Matthew Green : « Poetic buckets for dry wells » (2).

(1) See a short paper on Gildon's theories in the *Modern Language Review* XIV, p. 386. (*Two minor Critics of the Age of Pope*, by D. S. Sarma).

(2) *The Spleen* (1737), line 16.

Gildon appears to us more classical than Boileau, whose *Art Poétique*, translated in 1680 by William Soame, had been modified by Dryden to suit English taste. Gildon was the extreme theorist of the tendencies that prevailed in English poetry from the Restoration to the end of the 18th century. His book is interesting to study in this light; it is very learned, sometimes even pedantic in tone, but often original, as for example in the last dialogue in which musical notations are used to explain the theory of stressed syllables in English metre.

Gildon evidently founded extravagant hopes on this book, of which he was very proud. The humble dedication which he addressed to King George the First was probably rewarded with some money. But the book did not obtain the success it deserved: the bookseller had for three years to advertise it continually as « just published », in order to get rid of the whole edition. Gildon was happily indemnified by the rapid sale of his pamphlet against *Robinson Crusoe*, published in the following year (2). But the success of one book in those days could afford only a very temporary relief. Merely to live, Gildon was obliged to beg from the rich patrons of literary men. He sent his works to any nobleman who was likely to give him a few guineas. He probably received a generous gift from the Earl of Carnarvon (3), who was well known for his liberality to poor writers: Gildon had written in his honour a poem of over 600 lines entitled *Canons, or the Vision* (4).

(1) See Charlaune: *L'Influence française en Angleterre au 17^e siècle*, I, p. 315.

(2) See the Introduction to Gildon's pamphlet.

(3) James Brydges, afterwards Duke of Chandos.

(4) Canons (near Edgware), was the name of the Earl's magnificent residence. It was described by De Foe in his *Tour through Great Britain*, (II, 3).

He was also amply rewarded by the Duchess of Buckinghamshire and Normanby : he had long before prepared a commentary on the Duke's *Essay on Poetry*, which His Grace himself had been pleased to read and correct, but did not think fit to publish. At the Duke's death on the 24 th of February 1721, the manuscript was returned to Gildon who added two similar commentaries on the *Essay on translated Verse* by the Earl of Roscommon, and Lord Landsdowne's (1) *On Unnatural Flights in Poetry*. The whole was published under the title *The Laws of English Poetry* : it was much discussed in literary circles, because of the names of the poets, but the commentaries are heavy, pedantic, and full of absurdities such as this : « Mr Addison in the *Spectators*, in his criticisms upon Milton, seems to have mistaken the matter, in endeavouring to bring that poem to the rules of the epopeia, which cannot be done... It is not an Heroic Poem, but a Divine one, and indeed of a new species. It is plain that the proposition of all the heroic poems of the Ancients mentions some one person as the subject of their poem... But Milton begins his poem of things, not of men ». Such discussions seem to us trifling and ridiculous : but at that time they allowed their author to pass as a critic of considerable mark. What pleased Gildon certainly more than the reputation of his book or its success — which was but indifferent (2) — was the important sum he received from the Duke's widow ; but, he tells us himself (3), « though my

(1) George Granville, Baron Landsdowne (1697-1735) verse-writer and dramatic author.

(2) The book after all costed 12 shillings in 1723 (*British Journal for March* 1723, 1724, 1725) and that the edition was not yet sold out.

(3) In his 2nd letter to Pope (Aug. 1724, 1725). *Hist. Mss. Comm. Mem. of the Marquis of Bath*, III, 307.

Lady Duchess's present was extremely handsome, yet my anticipations upon it were so large that I had but little left of it as soon as received ». Having paid his debts, Gildon, penniless once more, resolved to start a collection in his own favour : he thought that if he interested the Harleys, success would be certain. His old friend Dennis had often received money from the ex-minister through the intermediary of the poet Prior, who was a favourite of the Harleys. From his dark and filthy garret in Bull Head Court, at the corner of Jewin St. and Aldersgate St., Gildon now begins a long correspondence with Prior. His letters, which were never answered, are interesting as they show that notwithstanding his low and miserable condition, he was still full of intolerable vanity.

About the middle of February (1721) Gildon had sent to Prior's house in Duke St. the manuscript of a tragedy, which, from the description given, seems to have been simply the old manuscript of his tragedy, *the Patriot*; which was impudent enough, as Prior was expected to believe that it was original work. To the manuscript Gildon joined a letter begging Prior for his intercession with Harley. A week later, on the 21st, Gildon, who was growing impatient at receiving no acknowledgment, sent the following missive in praise of his work (1) :

« It is now a week since I presumed to trouble you with a manuscript tragedy and a letter to beg your mediation and recommendation of it to my Lord Harley and his Lady, that is, provided it met with your own approval, which I flatter myself it would do, because it moves the passions in so eminent a degree, which is the chief excellence in that way of writing, and so allowed to be by all ages till the present, when we have had a sort of grammat-

ical critics arise, who have put the diction or language upon a foot with it, nay, who have made the diction, though scarce taken notice of by Aristotle, the chief mark and characteristic of a good or bad tragedy, and such a sort of diction, which, though correct enough in itself, is yet by its uniformity scarce tolerable in this way of writing, if we may give any credit to Horace, Boileau, and even to the nature of things: for tragedy consisting of the representation of different passions, must of necessity vary its style according to the nature of each passion which it brings on the stage. But this is a subject of too large an extent for a letter, and considering the knowledge and judgment of the person I write to, wholly superfluous. I must confess that there may be some bold metaphors of Mr Lee's which I have retained in this alteration, and which I choose rather to do than to deviate too far from the genius and spirit of my author, but I hope they are not many nor so great but that the excellence of the passions may sufficiently atone for them. It was by this quality alone that Otway fixed his immortal reputation with all but the verbal critics, and I think I may say that after Otway the tragedy under our consideration claims the next place in that particular; but I forgot myself. If this play wants an apology to such a judge as Mr Pryor, I am sure it deserves none. If it does not, it will sufficiently recommend itself. I therefore only once more beg, that, if you approve on't, you would recommend it to my Lord and Lady Harley's perusal and patronage. - P. S. - I would have waited on you myself, but that I have been confined to my chamber by blindness and lameness and a very infirm health. »

Many weeks passed. Prior thought Gildon troublesome and neither answered his letter, nor spoke to Harley. By the middle of July, having spent the money he had received from the Duchess of Buckinghamshire, Gildon ordered 3 of his books to be left at Harley's, one directed to

My Lord himself, one to My Lady, and the third to the distinguished poet, their friend. A fortnight passed, and there was still no answer ; so, on the 1st of August, Gildon sent a more pressing epistle, reminding Prior of his gift of books, and begging his « earnest and speedy assistance » to obtain Harley's help for the collection he was beginning. The chief argument he used in his appeal was that the poet had already used his influence with Harley for writers in similar circumstances : « These two last terms, my old acquaintance Sam. Briscoe (1) called upon me, and among other things informed me that he had in his trouble met with no act of generosity but from Mr Prior who had given him 5 guineas for a set of Tom Brown's (2) works, and had prevailed with my lord Harley to give him five more for another set. He farther informed me that one Mr Jacups (3), a new author, told him that Mr Prior had made a collection for him to pay his debts. These generous actions to these two makes me hope that I likewise shall find the good effect of your beneficent temper, having every way, I think, as reasonable a claim to it, as the two persons I have mentioned, and by this a stronger, that I am in years, blind and lame, and of a very infirm health. I am endeavouring to get a collection made for me to enable me to remove from this out-of-the-way place to one more proper for my condition, and to provide against the attacks of necessity

(1) A poor bookseller and writer, who had been reduced to bankruptcy. Gildon had compiled for him the translation of *Lucian's Works*.

(2) See the note on the last page of Chapter I.

(3) The name was misspelt by Gildon's amanuensis ; this is Giles Jacob (1686-1744) known chiefly for his *Poetical Register, or Lives and Characters of the English Dramatic Poets* (1719-20). In 1721 he dedicated a poem, *Human Happiness*, to Prior.

to send me a lecture (1) which will be sufficient to supply my wants. Being sensible that to engage my Lord Harley in this collection, there is nothing wanting but your mediation, that is what now I most earnestly beg at your hands... » (2).

Another week passed, and Gildon, in despair, gave vent to his angry feelings of wounded dignity in an epistle, the whole of which is worth quoting as being characteristic of his vanity and lack of self-respect (3) : « I understand that you and my Lord's family are all moving out of town next Saturday. I am the more surprised because I have not had one line from you about the present I sent you, or my subsequent letter to you, which is a treatment that I have not met with from any one but Mr Prior ; for though I have written to the greatest men in England, both ecclesiastical and temporal, yet not one of them ever thought me unworthy of a civil answer, but I suppose that it is not Mr Prior's way. As a gentleman, as I may say I am both by birth and education, and I think without much vanity I may say a scholar, I thought I had a right to an answer from another gentleman, but it seems I was mistaken, which confirms the opinion of a very intimate friend of mine, who told me that I had so long locked myself up from the world that I had forgot the world. And yet I hope that my mistaking Mr Prior will not be a very strong proof of this assertion, because upon my sending one of my books to one of the greatest persons in

(1) This was evidently a new form of Gildon's project (of which he had already spoken to Harley) for opposing the University moral lectures (see chap. III).

(2) *Cont. Mod. Europe*. — *Mrs. of the Marquis of Bath*, III, 207.

(3) *Cont. Mod. Europe*. — This letter has been published by Mr. Black in the *Cont. Mod. Europe*, No. 200-71.

England (1), he not only sent me 20 guineas, but likewise ordered his chaplain to send me a very obliging answer. I have much more to say to you upon this head, but shall defer till you return to town. I shall trouble you with no more at present."

But Prior was spared Gildon's recriminations, for he never came back to London; he died at Wimpole, Harley's country-seat, in September 1721.

Gildon's last years were lamentable; they were as uneventful and sad as his youth had been agitated and gay. His blindness overwhelmed him, and it needed tremendous energy to carry on the drudgery of a hack-writer. He never thought of getting rid of his woes through suicide, as he had announced he would do, in the early days of his deistical career. Lloyd, his amanuensis, read to him daily from the papers or new books, and wrote letters or original work at his dictation (2). His garret seemed darker than ever, as the visits of his friends grew rarer. Soon, he was too lame to go out, and perpetually in a state of ill-health. Nevertheless he had still to work day and night at small tasks for the booksellers. On the 12 th of January 1724 (3), Death struck this literary beggar in the 58 th year of his age; it could have been welcomed as a deliverer.

In the *Political State of Great Britain*, Moyer (4) men-

(1) This was most probably the Earl of O. Harvon, who, when this was written, had been created Duke of Chandos and appointed Governor of the Charterhouse.

(2) Letter to Dennis, dated Jan. 10 th, 1722. (Published in Dennis's *Remarks upon several Passages*).

(3) And not on the 11 th, as Nichols erroneously states *Literary Anecdotes*, I, 25 no. See *Masgrave's Obituary*, Jacob's *Poets*, I, 115, etc.

(4) (1697-1722), a French Huguenot who had taken refuge

tioned Gildon's death and described him as a man « of great literature but mean genius ». The *Universal Journal* for Jan. 15 th published a poem *To the Memory of Mr Charles Gildon*, which, for all its coarse wit, sums up fairly the career of the unhappy writer :

« I lov'd thee living, and I mourn thee dead,
 Whose Fate 'twas to be better Taught than Fed.
 Whate'er the Greek and Latin had in store
 Of Art and Eloquence thou hadst and more...
 From Mass to Common Prayer he early flew,
 The Papists Terror, and the Deists too.
 Who, whilst he lashed the Vices among Men,
 Religion never suffer'd from his Pen...
 To sum up all, we've lost an honest fellow,
 That treated more in metal red than yellow.

Such was the epitaph of a man whose life would constitute one of the most pitiful chapters of a *Vie de Bohême* in England at the beginning of the Eighteenth Century

in England. An annalist and journalist, he is known chiefly for his polemics with De Fœe.

A

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST

OF GILDON'S WORKS

1691. — *History of the Athenian Society* for the resolving of all nice and curious questions. By a gentleman who got secret intelligence of their whole Proceedings. To which are prefixed several poems written by Mr Tate, Mr Motteux, ... and others. London [folio].

1692. — *Nuncius Infernalis* : or a New Account from Below. In 2 Dialogues. The First (From the Elizium Fields) of Friendship. The second (from Hell of Cuckoldom) Being the Sessions of Cuckolds. By Charles Gildon, gent. With a Preface by Mr Durfey. London, Thomas Jones. [pp X and 24] 5 feb.

A *Letter to Mr d'Urfey*, occasioned by his play called the Marriage-hater matched [published by D'Urfey with the first ed. of his play]. London [4 to].

Poeta Infamis; or a Poet not worth hanging, being a dialogue between Lysander Valentine and poet Pricker. With a letter to the author of the Marriage-hater matched, written by his friend... London. [Dedication signed C. G...n].

Miscellany Poems upon Several Occasions : consisting of Original Poems by the late Duke of Buckingham, Mr Milton, Mr Prior, Mrs Behn, Mr Tho Brown, etc. And the translations from Horace, Persius, Petronius Arbiter etc. With an Essay upon Satyr by the famous M. Dacier... Licens'd May 21, 1692. London, Peter Buck [8° pp XXXII and 112] [The Epistle Dedicatory signed Charles Gildon]. (Reissued in 1698 with the following title. *The Poetical Remaines of the Duke of Buckingham, Sir G. Etheridge, Mr Milton, etc.*).

The Post-boy Robb'd of his Mail : or the Paquet Broke Open. Consisting of Letters of Love and Gallantry and all Miscellaneous Subjects : in which are discover'd the Vertues, Vices, Follies, Honours and Intrigues of Mankind. With Remarks on each Letter. 2 vols. London [8 vo pp. XXXIV and 488] [The Epistle Dedicatory signed C. G.] (Reissued in one vol. & with the addition of many and ingenious letters, never before publish'd. London. 1709).

1693. — *The Oracles of Reason.* In several letters to Mr Hobbs and other Persons of eminent Quality and Learning. By CHAR. BLOUNT esq; Mr Gildon and others. — London [12, pp. XXXIV and 140] (Preface signed C. Gildon).

1694. — *Chorus poetarum : or Poems on Several Occasions.* By the Duke of Buckingham, the late Lord Rochester, Sir John Denham, Sir Geo. Ethieridge, Andrew Marvel esq; the famous Spenser, Madam B. &c. and several other Eminent Poets of this Age. Never before Printed. — London, B. Bragg. [8 vo, pp. XVI and 170] (The Epistle Dedicatory signed Charles Gildon).

Miscellaneous Letters and Essays on several subjects Philosophical, Moral, Historical, Critical, Amorous etc. in Prose and Verse. Directed to John Dryden, esq; The Honourable Geo. Granvill, esq; Walter Moile, esq; Mr Dennis, Mr Congreve, And other Eminent Men of th' Age. By several Gentlemen and Ladies [mostly by Gildon]. London. B. Bragg. [8 vo, pp. XVI and 231] (The Epistle Dedicatory, and many Essays signed Charles Gildon). October 1694.

1695. — *The Miscellaneous Works of Charles Blount esq.* Containing : I. The Oracles of Reason etc. II. Anima Mundi, or the Opinions of the Antients concerning Man's Soul after this Life, according to unlightened Nature. III. Great is the Name of the Lord, or the Original of Priestcraft and Idolatry, and of the Sacrifices of the Gentiles. IV An Appeal from the Country to the City for the Preservation of His Majesty's Person, Liberty and Property, and the Protestant Religion. V A just Vindication of Learning, and of the Liberty of the Press. VI A supposed Dialogue betwixt the late King James and King William on the Banks of the Boyne, the day before that famous victory. To which is prefixed the Life of the Author, and an account and Vindication of his Death. — London [12]

1696. — *The Younger Brother* : or the Amorous Jilt. A Comedy acted at the Theatre Royal, by His Majesty's Servants. Written by the late Ingenious Mrs A. Behn. With some Accounts of her Life. — London, R. Baldwin [4 to, pp N + 52] (The Epistle Dedicatory signed Ch. Gildon).

1697. — *The Roman Bride's Revenge*. A Tragedy. As it is acted at the Theatre Royal, by His Majesty's servants. — London, J. Sturton [4 to, pp. IV + 52].

Familiar Letters of the Earl of Rochester, edited by Charles Gildon — 2 vols [8 vo].

1698. — *The Lives and Characters of the English Dramatic Poets*. Also an exact account of all the Plays that were ever yet Printed in the English Tongue; their Double Titles, the Places where acted, the Dates when Printed, and the Persons to whom Dedicated; with Remarks and Observations on most of the said Plays. First begun by Mr Langbain, improv'd and continued down to this time, by a careful Hand. — London, Tho Leigh and Wm Turner [8 vo, pp 180].

Phaeton : or the Fatal Divorce. A Tragedy. As it is acted at the Theatre Royal. In imitation of the Antients. With some reflections on a Book call'd, a Short View of the Immorality and Irregularity of the English Stage. — London, A. Roper [4 to, pp XXII and 34].

Poetical Remains of Mrs Behn. — London, A. Bettesworth [8 vo]. Edited by Charles Gildon.

All the histories and novels written by the late ingenious Mrs Behn... published by Mr. Charles Gildon. — London, A. Bettesworth. 2 vols. (12^o) [another edition in 1705; 7 th ed. in 1722; 8 th in 1735; 9 th in 1751].

1700. — *Measure for Measure*, or Beauty the Best Advocate. As it is acted at the Theatre in Lincolns-Inn Fields. Written originally by Mr Shakespear : And now very much alter'd : With Additions of several Entertainments of Musick. — London, D. Brown and Parker [4 to, pp IV and 84].

1701. — *A New Miscellany of Original Poems*, on several Occasions. Written by the E(arl) of D(orset), Sir Charles Sidley, Sir Fleetw. Shephard, Mr Wolesly, Mr Granvill, Mr Dryden, Mr Stepney, Mr Rowe, and several other eminent Hands. — London, Peter Buck and G. Strahan. [8 vo, pp XVI and 341]. (Dedication signed Charles Gildon).

Lore's Victim : or the Queen of Wales. A Tragedy. As

it was Acted at the Theatre in Lincoln's Inn-Fields. By His Majesty's Servants. — London, Parker and Strahan. [4 to, pp XII and 54].

1700. — *Examen Miscellaneum*. Consisting of Verse and Prose. Of verse by the Most Honourable the Marquis of Normandy, the late Lord Rochester, Mr Waller, Mr Wharton, Mr Wolseley. With Satires and Fables, and translations from Anacreon. In Prose, above 100 original Maxims and Reflections. To which are added Precepts, Maxims and Reflections taken out of Theognis, Phocylides, Pythagoras, Solon, Simonides, Callimachus, Philemon, Alexis, Anaxandrides, Aristophanes, Apollodorus, Diphilus, Moenander, Embulus, Timocles, and several other Greek poets. — London, Chantry [8 vo, pp XXXIV and 192].

A Comparison between the 2 Stages, with an Examen of the Generous Conqueror; and some critical Remarks on the Funeral, or Grief Alamode, the False Friend, Tamerlane and others. In dialogue. — London [8 vo, pp VIII and 200].

1703. — *The Patriot*, or the Italian Conspiracy, a tragedy; as it is acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury lane. — London, Wm Davis and G. Strahan [4 to, pp X and 56].

Ovidius Britannicus : or Love Epistles in Imitation of Ovid. Being an Intrigue betwixt two persons of Quality. To which are added : Phaon's answer to Sapho and Theseus answer to Ariadne, which were wanting in Ovid's Epistle. By David Crawford, gent. — [edited by Gildon]. — London, Chantry [8 vo, pp XII and 152] (Dedication signed Charles

1705. — *The Deist's Manual* : or, a Rational Enquiry into the Christian Religion. With some Considerations on Mr Hobbs, Spinoza, the Oracles of Reason, Second Thoughts etc. By C. Gildon, gent. Publisher of the Oracles of Reason. To which is prefixed a Letter from the author of the Method with the Deists. — London; Roper, Coggan and Strahan [8 to, pp XLIV, pp 1 and 30].

1706. — *A Letter from Her Royal Highness*, the Princess Sophia, Electress of Brunswic and Luneburg, to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. With Another from Hanover, Written by Sir Rowland Gwynne to the Right Honourable the Earl of Stanfield. — London, B. Bragg; 2 d. [4 to, pp 8] February.

A Review of Her royal highness Princess Sophia's letter to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and that of Sir Rowland Gwynn's to the Right Honourable the Earl of Stanford. — London, B. Bragg [8 vo]. March or April.

1708. — *Libertas Triumphans*, a poem occasion'd by the glorious victory obtain'd near Odenard by the Forces of the Allies under the command of his highness John Duke of Marlborough and prince of the Sacred Roman Empire, and the Velt-Mareschall Anverquerque : on the 1st of July 1708. — London; Morphew [folio] ; 22 July — (Dedication signed Charles Gildon).

1709. — *The Golden Spy* : or a political Journal of the British Nights Entertainments of War and Peace, and love and Politics : wherein are laid open, the Secret Miraculous Power and Progress of Gold in the Courts of Europe. Intermix'd with Delightful Intrigues, Memoirs, Tales and Adventures serious and comical. — London, Woodward and Morphew. [8 vo, pp XVI and 304].

1710. — *The Golden Spy* : 2nd volume.

The Works of Mr William Shakespeare. Vol. the Seventh. Containing : Venus and Adonis, Tarquin and Lucrece, and his Miscellany Poems. With critical Remarks on his Plays etc; to which is Prefixed an Essay on the Art, Rise and Progress of the Stage in Greece, Rome and England. — London, E Curll and E Sanger. [8 vo, pp LXXII and 476] (Reissued as 9th Vol. in 1714; as 7th Vol. in 1725; as 10th Vol. in 1728).

The Life of Mr Thomas Betterton, the late eminent Tragedian. Wherein the action and utterance of the Stage, Bar and Pulpit are distinctly consider'd. With the Judgment of the late Ingenious Monsieur de St Evremond upon the Italian and French music and operas; in a letter to the Duke of Buckingham. To which is added, *The Amorous Widow*, or *the Wanton Wife*. A comedy. Written by Mr Betterton. Now first printed from the original Copy. — London, R. Gosling. 3 s. 6 d. [portrait, pp XIV, 176 and 87].

1711. — *A Grammar of the English Tongue*, with Notes, Giving the Grounds and Reason of Grammar in general. To which is added, a New Prosodia; or the art of English numbers. All adapted to the Use of Gentlemen and Ladies,

as well as of the Schools in Great Britain. — London, J. Highland. 12^o. pp XII and 180. January, 12th ed. in 1712).

The Works of Lucian, translated from the Greek by several Eminent Hands. With the Life of Lucian, a Discourse on his Writings, and a character of some of the present translators. Written by John Dryden esq. — London, Briscoe, 4 vols.

1714. — *A New Rehearsal*, or Rays the Younger, containing an Examen of The Ambitious Stepmother, Tamerlane, The Biter, Fair Penitent, Royal Convert, Ulysses, and Jane Shore. All Written by N. Rowe, Esq. Also a Word or two upon Mr Pope's Rape of the Lock. To which is prefixed, A Preface in Vindication of Criticism in General by the late earl of Shaftesbury. — London, J. Roberts, 1 s. [8 vo, pp XXII and 88].

1717. — *A True Character of Mr Pope* [Written by Dennis, with Gildon's help]. London, S. Popping. 3 d.

Cases in Latin; or a Latin Grammar (Letter to Addison, Feb. 1712).

Canons : or the Vision. A Poem addressed to the Right Honourable James Earl of Caernarvan etc. — London, J. Roberts; price 1 s. [8 vo, pp XII and 26].

1718. — *Memoirs of the Life of William Wycherley, Esq.* With a Character of his Writings. By the Right Honourable George, Lord Landsdowne : To which are added, Some Familiar Letters, Written by Mr Wycherley, and a True Copy of his Last Will and Testament. — London, E. Curll; price 1 s. [pp 416.] May (Advertised by the *Evening Post* as The Life of William Wycherley esq. by Charles Gildon, gent. with a Character of Mr Wycherley and his Writings by the Lord Landsdown, etc).

The Complete Art of Poetry, in Six Parts... By Charles Gildon, Gent. — London, Rivington; 6 s. [12^o, pp XVI and 362]. July.

1719. — *The True and Strange, and the Adventures of Mr D... De F...* etc (see our Introduction) (Advertised by the *Daily Chronicle* as The True ... 1719).

1720. — *A new Project for the Regulation of the Stage.* By Mr D... and Mr Gildon. — London; Borcham, Curll, Colwood, 1720. 1 s. 6 d. — 1st Feb. 1720 ed. 1st Feb.

1721. — *The Laws of Poetry*, As laid down by the Duke of Buckinghamshire in his Essay on Poetry, by the Earl of Roscommon in his Essay on Translated Verse, by the Lord Landsdowne on Unnatural Flights in Poetry, Explained and Illustrated. — London, J. Morley. [8 vo, pp XVI + 351].

INTRODUCTION

TO GILDON'S PAMPHLET

When De Foe's novel, the *Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, was issued on the 25th of April 1719, its extraordinary and immediate success filled the poor hack-writers of Grub-street with envy. The author, whose name was easily guessed, was not one of the literati that frequented Swift and Pope, or Steele and Addison ; he was a popular journalist, living by his pen, whose poor instruction excited much raillery, and whose dubious political dealings gave rise to much scandal. His book had already a second edition on the 12th of May, a third on the 6th of June, and a fourth on the 8th of August ; success so tremendous was unheard of before. Gildon, who could scarcely sell out one edition of those learned works which revealed his extensive knowledge of the Ancient writers, was full of jealousy at the triumph so easily achieved by a rival writer who always wrote hastily, was no scholar, and who, besides, had formerly abused him in two poems, *More Reformation*, and the *Pacifist*.

Gildon reflected that he could do a good piece of business, and at the same time have his revenge on De Foe, by writing a sharp criticism of *Robinson Crusoe* : any thing connected with this great book was sure of an easy sale. He had De Foe's work read to him, and, on hearing each passage, dictated reflections upon it. He intended to

compose an open epistle to the author of *Robinson Crusoe*; this was the form then generally taken by controversial pamphlets between politicians or men of letters. The epistle occupied Gildon a whole fortnight in August, for he was obliged to work slowly, and could not afford to interrupt his drudgery for the booksellers.

Gildon had scarcely ended his *Epistle* when, on the 20th of August, the second volume of *Robinson Crusoe* appeared. He thought this a good opportunity to double the size of his projected pamphlet, and thus raise its price from 6 d to 1 s. He continued to work hastily, for he was eager to profit by the popularity of De Foe's novel to launch his little work, and he dictated a long *Postscript*. Then a bright idea occurred to him : he had hitherto considered *Robinson Crusoe* only as an absurd romance, entirely invented by De Foe's « prolific brain » ; he was struck now by a passage in the preface to the *Further Adventures*. De Foe, finding that he could not long pretend that *Robinson Crusoe* was, as he at first claimed, « a just history of fact », had cleverly managed an escape for himself, in case he should be convicted of « lying » : « The just application of every incident », he insinuated, « the religious and useful inferences drawn from every part, are so many testimonies to the good design of making it public, and must legitimate all the part that may be called invention or parable in the story ».

The word *parable* was a flash of light to Gildon's mind. Very likely, De Foe had written it without attaching any great importance to it ; he merely had a vague intention of asserting later, that *Robinson Crusoe* was an example of man's helplessness in the hands of Providence, designed to bring the readers to complete submissiveness to the Divine Will. This idea, however, was only dawning on his mind : his primitive intention had simply been to

write a fictitious biography, and pass it off as truth. But Gildon understood how much more pointed his satire would be, if he connected the chief events of Crusoe's life with De Foe's past ; he could easily ridicule De Foe by showing that he was more stupid and insane, even, than his hero.

Gildon dictated a dialogue, which has little originality in form, but contains a long tirade, the most interesting part of the pamphlet, in which De Foe himself explains to Robinson that he was merely his image ; and, to emphasize this similitude, Gildon added a title, closely copied from De Foe's, which suggested the idea expressed in the dialogue, that *Robinson Crusoe* is an allegory of De Foe's life. Full of confidence, Gildon gave his work to the bookseller J. Roberts, who issued it on the 28 th of September. It was advertised in the *Daily Courant* for the same day, and again, as « Just published », in the number for the first of October.

Gildon was well rewarded for his labour. His little book was, as he had expected, a success. Pamphlet-writing was not, indeed, very lucrative; booksellers generally paid 2 guineas for every 500 copies sold ; but even such poor payment was welcome to a starving author. The *Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures of Daniel De Foe* soon had a second edition, then a third, issued in Dublin in the same year. Though it had been published anonymously at first, the name of the author was known, and was advertised in later editions. The work created much discussion in the literary world, and this had a happy effect on the sale of Gildon's other works.

Gildon's pamphlet is desultory ; the paragraphs follow one another in chance succession, without any logical connexion. His blindness obliged him to compose in that manner, so that no unity was possible. The chief interest

of the work is in the details it gives of De Foe's life and of his novel. Thanks to Gildon we know that *Robinson Crusoe* was written in De Foe's residence at Stoke Newington, and thus we can put aside the claims of other cities, — Halifax, Gateshead, Witechapel, Hartley, — to be the place of its composition. The general public was amused by a pamphlet that enumerated the contradictions and impossibilities in a famous book, and fellow-writers were pleased to find some one who gave utterance to their envious hatred of a successful colleague.

In clubs and coffee-houses, in broadsheets and ballads, some inconsistencies in *Robinson Crusoe* had already been satirized. Cox, the piratical bookseller, had suppressed a few, and tried, often awkwardly, to palliate the grossest impossibilities of the book, in the abridged edition he issued in August, to the great annoyance of De Foe and still more of Taylor, the editor of *Robinson*. Gildon repeated many criticisms already commonly made, and added considerable new material. Several of his attacks are unjust, but most show his critical finesse. His pamphlet was only a short essay ; he passed over a great many important contradictions, though this may be due to his infirmity, which was a terrible handicap for the task. He did not notice De Foe's frequent errors in dates and numbers. It is strange also that Gildon who had specially studied the first pages of the novel did not notice the following glaring anachronism : in 1651, Robinson's father talks of his *late* elder son, while on the preceding page we are told that this son was killed at the battle against the Spaniards near Dunkirk, which took place only in 1658. A whole book might be made of the inconsistencies in the novel, but Gildon had neither the time nor the means to make a close study of the text.

The most interesting fact about Gildon's pamphlet is

the influence it exercised on De Foe. Gildon's criticism stung De Foe to the quick, but at the same time furnished him with a good defence against the charge of being a « novelist », that is a « liar ». In the preface to the *Serious Reflections of Robinson Crusoe*, published on the 6th of August 1720, De Foe declared impudently that *Robinson Crusoe* was no romance, but an allegory of his own unhappy life : « (The story) is the beautiful representation of a life of unexampled misfortunes, and of a variety not to be met with in the world, sincerely adapted to and intended for the common good of mankind, and designed at first, as it is now farther applied, to the most serious uses possible. » He proceeds to show how several episodes of Crusoe's story were suggested by real episodes in his own life : « In a word, there is not a circumstance in the imaginary story, but has its just allusion to a real story, and chimes part for part and step for step with the inimitable *Life of Robinson Crusoe*. » He wisely refrains from trying to demonstrate in detail the truth of this assertion ; for, in spite of his talent for paradox, he could hardly have proved decisively the allegorical character of his novel. But he explains why, instead of telling simply his own life, he had recourse to such a curious stratagem ; this astounding piece of impudence shows that De Foe was not afraid of fooling the public from whom he derived his living // « Had the common way of writing a man's private history been taken, and I had given you the conduct or life of a man you know, and whose misfortunes and infirmities perhaps you had sometimes unjustly triumphed over, all I could have said would have yielded no diversion, and perhaps scarce have obtained a reading, or at best no attention ; the teacher, like a greater, having no honour in his own country. Facts that are formed to touch the mind must be done a great way off, and by somebody never heard of.

Even the miracles of the Blessed Saviour of the world suffered scorn and contempt, when it was reflected that they were done by the carpenter's son ; one whose family and original they had a mean opinion of, and whose brothers and sisters were ordinary people like themselves.» — In this preface, De Foe took care not to mention Gildon ; at the most, a contemptuous sentence in the Publisher's Introduction may apply to him : « those who challenged the author most maliciously with not making his pen useful, will have leisure to reflect, that they passed their censure too soon, and, like Solomon's fool, judged of the matter before they heard it. » Indeed, why should De Foe have been offended with a man who had furnished him with a helpful suggestion, and who, by attacking *Robinson Crusoe*, advertised it and contributed to augment its sale ?

[The *Serious Reflections of Robinson Crusoe* consist mostly of old essays which De Foe had long kept in his papers, and which he tried to adapt to his story. From Gildon he took many a hint : thus his long chapters on the state of religion in the world were certainly inspired by one of Gildon's criticisms. But De Foe too often forgot that he had adopted the idea that *Robinson Crusoe* was an allegorical tale, and told anecdotes about himself which could not be applied to « wild, wicked Robinson Crusoe », and vice versa.

Gildon's pamphlet was read carefully by the booksellers ; in the abridgment of the three volumes of De Foe's novel which was published by Bettesworth on the 27 th of February 1722, all the inconsistencies pointed out by Gildon are suppressed : we may even ask, as the preface of this work repeats Gildon's theories on the legitimacy of abridgments, if Gildon himself had not something to do with this more or less piratical compilation : the author must at least have closely studied the pamphlet.

Gildon's attacks on *Robinson Crusoe* were resumed in November 1725 by Bishop Hoadly in an article of the *London Journal*. De Foe answered in *Appplebee's Journal* for Nov. 20 th, but refrained from any precise refutation of the Bishop's charges ; he merely contended that if *Robinson Crusoe* was a lie, the *London Journal* was also full of « many Fables and forged Stories, not to say Lies ». Then, dropping the subject, he launched into a long digression on the wickedness of the time.

After a few years, while the glory of *Robinson Crusoe* was still in the ascendant, Gildon's pamphlet fell into oblivion : it was brought to light again much later by De Foe's early biographers. In 1785, the bookseller Stockdale entrusted an eminent jurist named De Lolme with the direction of a reprint of De Foe's *History of the Union*, and at the same time wrote letters to all his learned friends in order to get material for a Life of De Foe. He received from the Rev. Lort a copy of Gildon's pamphlet and was full of hope at the title. But he was extremely disappointed on reading the contents, as, for a man unacquainted with the particulars of De Foe's life, Gildon's allusions are mere riddles. Stockdale then resumed his search and was fortunate enough to receive an excellent essay from De Foe's first great biographer, George Chalmers.

In his long *Life and Times of Daniel Defoe*, Wilson is very severe on Gildon's pamphlet, which, without having much inquired into its contents, he calls « a low performance ». Lee, De Foe's next biographer, dismisses it as « indecent and scurrilous ». Wright alone, in his biography of De Foe, recognizes the merits of the performance, and after an impartial examination of Gildon's pamphlet concludes with these words : « In fine, because we admire De Foe and Crusoe, we are not going to follow

our predecessors in the biographical office, and call Gildon a carping fool. — We think that such will be the reader's mind, when he has studied Gildon's work ; and we hope that those who will undertake this short excursion into the world of the poor hack-writers of the Augustan Age, will not be repelled by the filthy streets and the stench of the dark deep courts.

The following pages are an exact reprint of the first edition of Gildon's pamphlet. For the convenience of the reader, we have numbered the lines. The asterisks in the margin refer to the notes at the end of the book.

THE
LIFE

And Strange Surprizing

ADVENTURES

OF

Mr. D..... De F....,

OF

LONDON, Hofier,

WHO

Has liv'd above fifty Years by
himself, in the Kingdoms of *North* and
South Britain. The various Shapes he
has appear'd in, and the Discoveries
he has made for the Benefit of his
Country.

IN A

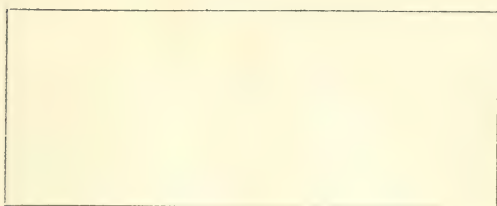
DIALOGUE between *Him,*
Robinson Crusoe, and his Man *Friday*.

WITH

REMARKS serious and Co-
mica! upon the Life of **CRUSOE**.

Qui vult decipi, decipiatur.

London : Printed for J. ROBERTS in War-
wick-Lane. 1719. Price 1 s.



THE PREFACE.



F ever the Story of any private Man's Adventures in the World were worth making publick, and were acceptable when publish'd, the Editor of this Account thinks this will be so. 5

The Wonders of this Man's Life exceed all that (he thinks) is to be found Extant ; the Life of one Man being scarce capable of greater Variety. 10

The Story is told with greater Modesty than perhaps some Men may think necessary to the Subject, the Hero of our Dialogue not being very conspicuous for that Virtue, a more than common Assurance carrying him thro' all those various Shapes and Changes which he has pass'd without the least Blush. The Fabulous Proteus of the Ancient Mythologist was but a very faint Type of our Hero, whose
a Changes 15

Changes are much more numerous, and he far more difficult to be constrain'd to his own Shape. If his Works should happen to live to the next Age, there would in all probability be a greater Strife among the several Parties, whose he really was, than among the seven Graecian Cities, to which of them Homer belong'd : The Dissenters first would claim him as theirs, the Whigs in general as theirs, the Tories as theirs, the Non-jurors as theirs, the Papists as theirs, the Atheists as theirs, and so on to what Sub-divisions there may be among us; so that it cannot be expected that I should give you in this short Dialogue his Picture at length; no, I only pretend to present you with him in Miniature, in Twenty Fours, and not in Folio. But of all these Things, with some very surprizing Incidents in some new Adventures of his own for the rest of his Life, I may perhaps give a farther Account hereafter.





A
DIALOGUE

BETWIXT

*

D..... F...e,


ROBINSON CRUSOE, 5

And his Man

FRIDAY.

* SCENE, *A great field betwixt Newington - Green and Newington Town, at one a Clock in a Moon-light Morning.* 10

Enter D....F...with two Pocket Pistols.

D--l.  Fine pleasurable Morning,
I believe about one a
Clock ; and, I suppose,
all the Lazy Kidnapping 15

* Rogues are by this Time got drunk with
a 2 Geneva

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* *Geneva* or Malt-Spirits to Bed, and I
 * may pass Home without any farther Terror. However, I am pretty well arm'd to keep off their unsanctified Paws from my Shoulder.....

Bless my Eye-Sight, what's this I see!
 * I was secure too soon here, the *Philistines*
 are come upon me; this is the Effect of
 * my not obeying the *Secret Hint* I had
 not to come Home this Night. But, 10
 however, here they shall have a couple
 of Bullets in their Bellies..... ha! two
 of them, great tall Gigantick Rogues,
 * with strange High-crown'd Caps, and
 Flaps hanging upon their Shoulders, and 15
 two Muskets a-piece, one with a Cut-
 lass, and the other with a Hatchet; e-g-d
 I'll e'en run back again to the Green.

[*Turns and runs.*

* Oh, plague upon that swift leg'd Dog, 20
 he's got before me; I must now stand upon
 my Guard, for he turns upon me and pre-
 sents his Musket..... Gentlemen, what
 would you have? would you murder
 me? Take what I have, and save my Life. 25

* *Cru.* Why, Father *D...n*, dost thou
 not know thy own Children? art thou so
 * frightened at Devils of thy own raising? I
 am thy *Robinson Crusoe*, and that, my
 Man *Friday*. 30

* *D...l.* Ah! poor *Crusoe*, how came you
 hither? what do you do here?

Cru.

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Cru. Ho, ho, do you know me now?
 * You are like the Devil in *Milton*, that
 could not tell the Offspring of his own
 Brain, *Sin* and *Death*, till *Madam Sin*
 discover'd to him who they were. Yes, 5
 it is *Crusoe* and his Man *Friday*, who are
 come to punish thee now, for making us
 such Scoundrels in thy Writing : Come
Friday, make ready, but don't shoot till
 I give the Word. 10

* *Fri.* No shoot, Master, no shoot : me
 will show you how we use Scribblers in
 my Country.

Cru. In your Country *Friday*, why,
 you have no Scribblers there? 15

* *Fri.* No Matter that Master, we have
 as many Scribblers as Bears in my Coun-
 try; and me will make Laugh, me will
 * make *D...l* dance upon a Tree like *Bru-*
in. Oh ! me will make much Laugh, and 20
 then me will shoot.

* *D...l.* Why, ye airy Fantoms, are
 you not my Creatures? mayn't I make of
 you what I please?

Cru. Why, yes, you may make of us 25
 what you please; but when you raise Be-
 ings contradictory to common Sense, and
 destructive of Religion and Morality ;
 they will rise up against you in *Foro Con-*
 * *scientiæ*; that *Latin* I learn'd in my *Free-* 30
School and *House Education*.

D...l

D...l. Hum, hum..... well, and what are your complaints of me?

Cru. Why, that you have made me a strange whimsical, inconsistent Being, in
 * three Weeks losing all the Religion of a 5
 Pious Education; and when you bring
 * me again to a Sense of the Want of Reli-
 gion, you make me quit that upon every
 Whimsy; you make me extravagantly
 Zealous, and as extravagantly Remiss; you 10
 * make me an Enemy to all *English* Sailors,
 and a Panegyrist upon all other Sailors that
 come in your way : Thus, all the *English*
 Seamen laugh'd me out of Religion, but
 the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* Sailors were 15
 honest religious Fellows; you make me a
 Protestant in *London*, and a Papist in *Bra-*
sil; and then again, a Protestant in my
 own Island, and when I get thence, the
 only Thing that deters me from return- 20
 ing to *Brasil*, is meerly, because I did not
 * like to die a Papist; for you say, *that* Po-
 pery may be a good Religion to live in, but
 not to die in; as if that Religion could be
 good to live in, which was not good to 25
 die in; for, Father *D...l.*, whatever you
 may think, no Man is sure of living one
 Minute. But tho' you keep me thus by
 Force a Sort of Protestant, yet, you all
 * along make me very fond of Popish Priests 30
 * and the Popish Religion; nor can I for-
 give you the making me such a Whim-
 sical

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sical Dog, to ramble over three Parts of the World after I was sixty five. Therefore, I say, *Friday*, prepare to shoot.

Fri. No shoot yet Master, me have something to say, he much Injure me too. 5

D...l. Injure you too, how the Devil have I injur'd you?

Fri. Have injure me, to make me such Blockhead, so much contradiction, as to be able to speak *English tolerably well* in a Month or two, and not to speak it better in twelve Years after; to make me go out to be kill'd by the Savages, only to be a Spokesman to them, tho' I did not know, whether they understood one Word of my Language; for you must know, Father *D...n*, that almost ev'ry Nation of us *Indians* speak a different Language. Now Master shall me shoot? 10 15 20

Cru. No *Friday*, not yet, for here will be several more of his Children with Complaints against him; here will be the *French Priest*, *Will Atkins*, the Priest in *China*, his Nephews Ship's Crew, and.... 25

D...l. Hold, hold, dear Son *Crusoe*, hold, let me satisfy you first before any more come upon me. You are my Hero, I have made you, out of nothing, fam'd from *Tuttle-Street* to *Lime-house-hole*; there is not an old Woman that can go to the Price of it, but buys thy 30

thy Life and Adventures, and leaves it
 * as a Legacy, with the *Pilgrims Progress*,
 * the *Practice of Piety*, and *God's Revenge*
against Murther, to her Posterity.

Cru. Your Hero! Your Mob Hero! 5
 * your *Pyecorner Hero!* on a foot with
 * *Guy of Warwick*, *Bevis of Southampton*,
 * and the *London Prentice!* for *M..w..r*
 has put me in that Rank, and drawn me
 much better; therefore, Sir, I say..... 10

D...l. Dear Son *Crusoe*, be not in a
 Passion, hear me out.

Cru. Well, Sir, I will hear you out
 for once.

D...l. Then know, my dear Child, 15
 that you are a greater Favorite to me
 than you imagine; you are the true Al-
 * legorick Image of thy tender Father
D...l.; I drew thee from the considera-
 tion of my own Mind; I have been all 20
 my Life that Rambling, Inconsistent
 Creature, which I have made thee.

* I set out under the Banner of *Kidder-*
minster, and was long a noisy, if not
 zealous Champion for that Cause; and 25
 * tho' I had not that *Free-school* and *House-*
Learning which I have given you, yet
 being endow'd with a wonderful Loqua-
 ciousness and a pretty handsome Assu-
 * rance, being out of my Time, I talk'd 30
 * myself into a pretty large Credit, by which
 I might, perhaps, have thriv'd in my
 Way

(Xi)

Way very well, but, like you at *Brasil*
 my Head run upon Whimsies, and I
 quitted a Certainty for new Adven-
 * tures : First, I set up for Scribbling of 5
 * Verses, and dabbling in other Sort of Au-
 * thorizing, both Religious and Prophane.
 I have no Call to tell you, whether this
 Itch of Scribbling, or some other Project of
 * *Lime Kilns* or the like, oblig'd me to
 quit a certain Court near the *Royal-Ex-* 10
change, and to play at Hide and Seek;
 but this did not much trouble me, for it
 put me on a Sort of diving more agree-
 able to my Inclinations, forcing me to
 ramble from Place to Place Incognito; 15
 and, indeed, I thought myself something
 like the great Monarchs of the East,
 for I took care to be more seldom seen
 by my Acquaintance, than they by their
 Subjects. My old Walk from my Court 20
 to the Change was too short for my
 rambling Spirit, it look'd like a Seaman's
 Walk betwixt Decks ; and for that, and
 some other Reasons which shall be name-
 less, 'I pursu'd the Course which I told 25
 you.

* Well, all my Projects failing, I e'en
 took up with the Vocation of an Author,
 which tho' it promis'd but little in the
 common Way, I took care to make it 30
 more Beneficial to me; the principal
 Method of doing that, was to appear zea-
 lous

lous for some Party, and in the Party I
 was soon determin'd by my Education,
 and scribbled on in a violent Manner; till,
 by making myself a constant Pensioner
 to all the Rich and Zealous of my Party, 5
 I pickt up a good handsome Penny, with
 little Expençe to myself of Time or La-
 bour; for any Thing that is boldly Writ,
 will go down with either Party; but at
 last, by a plaguy Irony, I got myself in- 10
 to the damnable *Nutcrackers*; however,
 that but encreas'd my Market, and
 brought my Pension in, at least, five
 fold. I writ on, till some of the wise
 Heads of the contrary Party thought 15
 me worth retaining in their Ser-
 vice; and, I confess, their Bribes were
 very powerful. I manag'd Matters so
 well a great while, that both Sides kept
 me in Pay; but that would not do, my 20
 old Friends found that I had in reality
 forsaken them, and that I trim'd my
 Boat so ill, that they plainly saw to
 which Side it inclin'd; and, therefore, a
 certain Captain not far from *Thames Street*, 25
 who had been my Steward or Collector
 in chief, comes to me, and like the Witch
 of *Endor*, cried, *God has left thee, Saul*;
 that is, the Money would be no more
 given me by the Party, who had every 30
 one discover'd that I was enter'd into
 another Cause. I did all I could to satis-
 fy

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* fy him and answer his Objections, but all
 * to no purpose, *Buenos Nocius* was the
 Word, good Night *Nicholas*, they would
 be no longer bubbled ; so I set out entirely
 * for St. *Germans* or any other Port to 5
 * which my Proprietors should direct me ;
 but here again, like you, my Son *Crusoe*,
 * in burning the Idol in *Tartary*, I went a
 * little too far, and by another Irony, in-
 * stead of the *Nutcrackers*, I had brought 10
 * myself to the *Tripes* at *Paddington*, but that
 * my good Friend that set me to work got
 me a Pardon, and so, safe was the Word ;
 * and I have never forsaken him for that
 good Office — and his Money, my 15
 dear Son *Crusoe*, for it is that which al-
 ways sets me to Work ; and which ever
 Side the most Money is to be got, that
 * Side is sure of *D...l*. 'Tis true, I made a
 pretty good Penny among the Whigs, tho' 20
 nothing to what I have since done among
 the Tories : Let me see, let me see, I think,
 * I made by Subscription for my *Jure Divino*
 about some five hundred Pounds, and yet
 I writ it in about three Weeks or a 25
 Month, six or seven hundred Verses a
 Day coming constantly out of this Pro-
 lifick Head ; as for the Sense and Poe-
 try of them, e'en let my Subscribers look
 to that ; they had a *Book*, and a *Book* 30
 in *Folio*, and I had their Money, and so
 all Parties were contented. But what's
 b 2 this

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this to the Tory Writers, where for a
 Translation one shall get you three or
 four thousand Pounds subscrib'd ; and for
 an Original, seven or eight Thousand ; the
 Tories therefore for my Money ; not that I 5
 value the Tories more than I do the
 Whigs ; but nothing for the Whigs will
 sell, and every Thing for the Tories
 does. You seem to take it amiss, that I
 made you speak against the *English Sea-* 10
men, but that was only according to my
 own Nature, for I always hated the *Eng-*
lish, and took a Pleasure in depreciating
 and villifying of them, witness my *True*
Born Englishman, and my changing my 15
 Name to make it sound like *French* ; for
 my Father's Name was plain *F..e*, but I
 have adorn'd it with a *de*, so that I am
 now, Mr *D...l De F..e*. Next, you
 seem concern'd that I make you so favour- 20
 able to Popery, and to ramble at such
 an Age about the World : First, you must
 know, that by speaking favourably of
 Popery, I lay up a Friend in a Corner,
 and make all of that Religion favourable 25
 to me and what I write ; and should the
 Fox Hunters prevail, that Religion must
 be the Mode ; if it never does, I at least
 pass for a Moderate Man both with the
 Papists and Protestant Fox Hunters ; and 30
 to give them the better Idea of me, and
 the surer Hopes of having me a Convert,
 I have

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* I have written against my old Teachers
 * in the Shape and Form of a *Quaker*, as
 * in a Pamphlet to *T. B. a Dealer in many*
 * *Words*; and in the same Form I have at- 5
 * tack'd the B — of B —, one who is
 * equally hated by them. To tell you the
 * Truth, Son *Crusoe*, tho' I am now pass'd
 * sixty five, I am just setting out for a Ram-
 * ble thro' all Religions, and therefore li- 10
 * quor my Boots first with *Holy Water* and
 * the Sacred Unctions of Popery; and next,
 * I don't know but I may step to *Mahome-*
 * *tism*, and take a Trip with *Tom Coryat*
 * to the *Great Moguls* country, from
 * thence, perhaps, I may turn down to *Siam* 15
 * and *China*, and make a sort of a Break-
 * fast upon the *Multitheism* of those Coun-
 * tries.

Cru. Multitheism, Father D—n, why
 not *Polytheism*? why do you chuse rather 20
 to coin a Word compounded of *Greek*
 and *Latin*, whereas the other is in com-
 mon Use?

D...l. Common; I hate all that's com- 25
 mon, even to common Sense — but no
 Interruptions Son *Crusoe*, no Interruptions;
 from thence I may take a Jaunt to the
 * *Greek Church*, in a sort of Whimsical *Ca-*
 * *ravan*, over the Desarts which I made you
 * pass, if by the way I don't happen to catch 30
 a Tartar, that is, take a Leap into the
 Dark. By this Ramble thro' all Reli-
 gions,

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gions, I shall be thoroughly qualified for whatever Side may come uppermost, whether the *Spanish* Inquisition, the Janesaries of *Mecca*, or any other Propagators of particular Religions ; for betwixt you and I, Son *Crusoe*, I care not who Reigns, whether the *Czar* of *Muscovy*, or the Emperor of *Monomotopa*. I defy them to set up any Religion, to oppose which I will be at the Pain of so much as a Fleabite. And now you have my Picture, Son *Crusoe*, as well as my Justification in my Draught of yours ; I would not have you therefore complain any more of the Contradiction of your character, since that is of a Piece with the whole Design of my Book. I make you set out as undutiful and disobedient to your Parents ; and to make your Example deter all others, I make you Fortunate in all your Adventures, even in the most unlucky, and give you at last a plentiful Fortune and a safe Retreat, Punishments so terrible, that sure the Fear of them must deter all others from Disobedience to Parents, and venturing to Sea : And now, as for you *Friday*, I did not make you speak broken *English*, to represent you as a Block-head, incapable of learning to speak it better, but merely for the Variety of Stile, to intermix some broken *English* to make my Lie go down the more glibly with the Vul-

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* Vaigar Reader ; and in this, I use you no worse than I do the *Bible* itself, which I quote for the very same End only.

* *Cru.* Enough, Enough, Father *D—n*, you have confest enough, and now pre- 5
pare for your Punishment, for here come all the rest of our Number which we expected; come *Friday*, pull out the Books, you have both Volumes, have you not *Friday* ? 10

Fri. Yes Master, and me will make him swallow his own Vomit.

* *Cru.* Here, Gentlemen, every one hold a Limb of him.

D...l. Oh, Oh, Mercy ! Mercy ! 15

Fri. Swallow, swallow, Father *D—n*, your Writings be good for the Heartburn, swallow, Father *D—n* — so me have cram'd down one Volume, must he have the other now Master ? 20

Cru. Yes, yes, *Friday*, or else the Dose will not be compleat, and so perhaps mayn't work and pass thro' him kindly.

* *Fri.* Come, Father *D—n*, t'other Pill, or I think I may call it *Bolus* for the big- 25
ness of it, it is good for your Health ; come, if you will make such large Com-
positions, you must take them for your Pains.

D...l. Oh, oh, oh, oh. 30

Cru. Now, gentlemen, each Man take his Part of the Blanket and toss him im-
moderately ;

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moderately ; for you must know, Gentlemen, that this is a sort of Physick, which never works well without a violent Motion.

[*They toss him lustily, he crying out all the while.*

Cru. Hold, Gentlemen, I think our Business is done ; for by the unsavoury Stench which assaults my Nostrils, I find the Dose is past thro' him, and so good
 * Morrow, Father D—n. Past three a
 * clock and a Moon light Morning. [*They
 * all vanish.*

D...I solus.

Bless me ! what Company have I been in ? or rather, what Dream have I had ?
 * for certainly 'tis nothing but a Dream ;
 * and yet I find by the Effects in my
 Breeches, that I was most damnably
 frightened with this Dream ; nay, more than
 ever I was in my Life ; even more, than
 * when we had News that King William
 design'd to take into Flanders the Royal
 Regiment. But this is a fresh Proof of
 my Observation in the second Volume of
 * my Crusoe, that there's no greater Evidence
 of an invisible World, than that Connexion
 betwixt second Causes, (as that in my
 Trowsers) and those Ideas we have in our
 Minds.

The End of the Dialogue.

AN
EPISTLE

TO

D..... D' F...e,

* The Reputed Author

OF

ROBINSON CRUSOE,

* Mr F—e,



* Have perus'd your pleasant
* Story of *Robinson Crusoe*; and
if the Faults of it had extend-
ed no farther than the fre-
quent Solecisms, Looseness and Incorrect-
ness of Stile, Improbabilities, and some-
times Impossibilities, I had not given

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you the Trouble of this Epistle. But when I found that you were not content with the many Absurdities of your Tale, but seem'd to discover a Design, which
 * proves you as bad an *Englishman* as a 5
 Christian, I could not but take Notice in this publick Manner of what you had written; especially when I perceiv'd that
 * you threaten'd us with more of the same 10
 Nature, if this met with that Success which you hop'd for, and which the Town has been pleas'd to give it. If by this I can prevent a new Accession of Impieties and Superstition to those which
 the Work under our Consideration has 15
 furnish'd us with, I shall not think my Labour lost.

I am far from being an Enemy to the
 * Writers of Fables, since I know very 20
 well that this Manner of Writing is not
 * only very Ancient, but very useful, I 25
 might say sacred, since it has been made
 * use of by the inspir'd Writers themselves; but then to render any Fable worthy of
 being receiv'd into the Number of those 25
 which are truly valuable; it must naturally produce in its Event some useful
 * Moral, either express'd or understood; but this of *Robinson Crusoe*, you plainly
 inculcate, is design'd against a publick 30
 good. I think there can be no Man so
 ignorant

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ignorant as not to know that our Navigation produces both our Safety, and our Riches, and that whoever therefore shall endeavour to discourage this, is so far a profest Enemy of his Country's Prosperity and Safety; but the Author of *Robinson Crusoe*, not only in the Beginning, but in many Places of the Book, employs all the Force of his little Rhetoric to dissuade and deter all People from going to Sea, especially all Mothers of Children who may be capable of that Service, from venturing them to so much Hazard and so much Wickedness, as he represents the Seafaring Life liable to. But whatever Mr *F—e* may think of the Matter, I dare believe that there are few Men who consider justly, that would think the Profession of a *Yorkshire* Attorney more innocent and beneficial to Mankind than that of a Seaman, or would judge that *Robinson Crusoe* was so very criminal in rejecting the former, and chusing the latter, as to provoke the Divine Providence to raise two Storms, and in the last of them to destroy so many Ships and Men, purely to deter him from that Course of Life, to which at last he was to owe so ample a Reward of all his Labours and Fatigues, as the End of

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of this very Book plainly tells us he met with.

- * I know you will reply, that it was his Disobedience to his Parents, for which he was punish'd in all the Misfortunes he met with, and that you frequently remind us of the Conviction of his Conscience in this Particular thro' the whole Course of his Life. I would by no Means be thought to encourage Disobedience to Parents ; but the honouring our Father and Mother does not include a Duty of blindly submitting to all their Commands, whether good or bad, rational or irrational, to the entire excluding of all Manner of free Agency from the Children, which would in effect be to make the Children of Freemen absolute Slaves, and give the Parent a Power even beyond that of a Sovereign, to whom both Parents and Children are subject. Tho' the Authority therefore of Parents be great, it cannot extend to the Suppression of our Obedience to Reason, Law and Religion ; and when a Child obeys these, tho' contrary to his Parents Command, he is not to be esteem'd disobedient or culpable. To apply this to the Case in Hand, *Robinson Crusoe* was above eighteen Years of Age when he left his Father's House, and this after a long

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long Deliberation and Struggle with
 that secret Impulse to a Seafaring Life,
 * to which Impulse you so often recom-
 mend a blind Obedience, whether ground- 5
 ed on Reason or not, and would persuade
 us that it proceeds from the secret Inspira-
 tion either of Providence or some good
 Spirit; but here *Robinson* had a great ma-
 ny Reasons to urge and justify himself; for
 notwithstanding the wise Harangue of the 10
 Father to the Son of the great Advan-
 tages of a middle State of Life; yet I
 cannot find that he himself thought that
 what he was to leave his Son would be
 sufficient to support him in that middle 15
 * State, on which he had made so te-
 dious an Encomium; for he propos'd to
 * put him out either to some Trade or
 to an Attorney. But first, as to a Trade,
 either he propos'd to put him to a bene- 20
 ficial Trade, or to one that was not so;
 if to a beneficial Trade, then he depart-
 ed from his own Principle of a Medio-
 crity; if to a Trade that was not so, his
 Design was extremely foolish, since the 25
 Cares and Solitudes of that mean Pro-
 fession might prove, and would in pro-
 bability be as great, if not greater, than
 those of a more beneficial Employment;
 and this, indeed, would be contrary to 30
 the Design and Aim of all People who
 put

put their Children to Trades, since they
 always propose and hope, that the Trades
 to which they put them will in the end
 make them Rich and Prosperous. If
 this was his Father's Design in putting 5
 him to a Trade, he acted directly against
 the principle he laid down, of being con-
 tented with what they had; if it was not
 his Design, he acted confessedly without
 Reason, and therefore could not reasona- 10
 bly desire an implicit Obedience to his
 Will : But if instead of a Trade he de-
 sign'd his Son for an Attorney, a con-
 scientious youth might well scruple to
 obey him in that particular. You have 15
 given him the Education of a Free-
 School, besides House Learning, as you
 are pleas'd to call it ; which I confess I
 never met with before in all my Reading 20
 and Conversation ; but by a Free-School
 Education till eighteen years of Age
 he must have been perfect in all the Clas-
 sicks, and fit for the University; and his
 Conversation with those Books might 25
 well inspire him with Notions abhorrent
 of a Profession in which there was nothing
 generous, and I am afraid very little just.
 But because you have said it, we will
 suppose that *Robinson Crusoe* was not de- 30
 ter'd from being an Attorney by any of
 these

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these more noble Considerations, but by a pure rambling Fancy, which render'd him incapable of taking up any Profession that was more confin'd than that of a

* Seafaring Person; yet, how could he imagine that he should raise his Fortune by going to Sea in the Manner that he went? that is, indeed, as a common Seaman, contrary to his Friends Inclination, or any Provision made by himself to turn and improve by his Navigation; but this Difficulty vanishes, when we remember what you tell us from his own Mouth,

* that he never was in the right in his

* Life. Omitting, therefore, the Oddness of his running away at so well grown an Age, tho' he had not done it in his more early and giddy Years, we'll proceed : He is now set out, arriv'd at *Hull*, and got on Board a Ship, without so

* much as ever saying one Word to the Master of her, who we must suppose never saw him for about three Weeks, till, after his Ship was cast away, he met him in *Yarmouth*, and was there inform'd by

* his Son, who, and what he was; tho' presently after he had heard this, he asks him, who, and what he was, as if he had known nothing of the Matter; and

* plainly tells him that his Ship was cast away upon his Account, making his

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- * Case and that of *Jonas* the same, who was actually in Disobedience to the positive Command and Order of God himself. But you, indeed, every where are pleas'd to make very free with the Holy
- * Scriptures, which you quote as fluently,
- * as the Devil once did, and much to the same End; that is, to make a Lie go down for Truth. But more of this hereafter. Well, the Master of the Ship having now understood who and what he was,
- * makes this fine Speech to him : *And, young Man, said he, depend upon it, if you do not go back, where-ever you go, you will meet with nothing but Disasters and Disappointments, till your Father's Words are fulfill'd upon you.* Here he makes the Master of the Ship a Prophet, as well as he had done his Father, which I should as little suspect him to be, considering the wicked Character you give of all Seamen, as that a profest Seaman should make a Speech, and urge the Storms for a Motive against any one's going to Sea. But I must not dwell too long upon mere Absurdities, I shall therefore take no Notice of *Robinson's* swooning away at the Noise of a Gun, tho' he knew not for what End the Gun was discharg'd; yet I cannot pass in Silence his Coining of Providences; that is, of his making Providence

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* vidence raise a Storm, cast away some
 Snips, and damage many more, meerly
 to fright him from going to Sea. If this
 be not a bold Impiety, I know not what
 is, and an Impiety for which I can see 5
 very little ground; for why should he
 imagine that the Storm was sent to hin-
 der him from going to Sea, more than
 any other that were in it, and suffer'd
 more by it? Nor, indeed, can I see any 10
 reason why your *Crusoe* should think it
 any more a Crime in him to go to Sea,
 than in a hundred and fifty thousand
 more, who constantly use the Sea in these
 Nations, besides ten times that Num- 15
 ber in all the Nations of the World who
 do the same. If Storms are sent by
 Providence to deter Men from Naviga-
 tion, I may reasonably suppose, that
 there is not one of all that vast Num- 20
 ber I have mention'd, to whom Provi-
 dence has not sent the same Warning.
 At this absurd Way of Arguing most of
 the Communication and Traffick of Na-
 tions would soon be at an end, and Islan- 25
 ders especially would be entirely cut off
 from the rest of the World; and if your
 Doctrine prevail'd, none would venture
 upon Salt Water, but such as cared
 not for the Safety either of Body or 30
 Soul, both which you all along en-
 C deavour

deavour to perswade us are more in danger there than any where else. But sure, dear Sir, you have neither consider'd the
 * Wickedness, nor the Hazards of the Land ; 5
 for if you had, you would find that it was morally impossible that the Seamen, at least, while on Shipboard, could be guilty of the tenth part of the Crimes which abound every where on Shore. For the Seaman, however wicked he may be in his Will, has not the Power in his floating Castle to reduce that Wickedness to Action; and to conclude that he is so wicked in Will, requires some better Proof than you have been pleas'd any
 10 where to give us. It is plain, that the Seafaring Men are generally (for here we speak only of Generals, and not of Particulars) generally, I say, are more free, open, disinterested, and less tricking and
 20 designing than those who never go to Sea; and tho' you are pleas'd often to mention the Wickedness of *Crusoe*, whom, being a
 * Creature of your own, you might have made as wicked as you pleas'd : This 25
 very *Crusoe*, I say, does not appear to be
 * guilty of any heinous Crimes; and it would be very hard to perswade us to believe, that a Man, who seems in all
 30 Things else innocent enough, should be so very abandon'd in Impiety, as never

(II)

ver to pray and acknowledge the over-
 ruling Providence of God in all the
 Transactions of this World; and by con-
 sequence in all that did or could hap-
 pen to him. But after all, if you will 5
 needs have him this impious Person; for
 he is a Creature of your making, and not
 of God's; you have given him *Manners*,
 as the Critics call it, quite out of Na-
 * ture, and no ways necessary to your *Fable*. 10
 * But more of this hereafter.

* We must now attend Monsieur *Crusoe*
 from *Yarmouth* to *London*, where he ar-
 * rives with that small remainder of his 15
 * *Yarmouth* Collection he had left; and
 tho' a Stranger in this great City, the
 * next thing we hear of him, is, that he
 abounds in fine Cloaths and Money, be-
 * ing able to put on board the *Guinea*
 Man a Venture of forty Pounds, which 20
 * how he comes by the Lord knows. He
 tells us, indeed, some time after, that he
 got this Money of his Friends; but it is
 not very probable, at least it is not very
 common, for People that have Money, 25
 to trust it to a young Fellow who had
 run from his Father, and was likewise
 under Age. This I say is not common;
 nay, I believe, never did happen to any
 Body in his Circumstances, but to *Ro-* 30
binson Crusoe, and may well be put into

the Number of the Miracles of his Life. Well, we'll suppose, with *Robinson* himself, that his Father secretly encourag'd his Friends to supply him; yet certainly
 * his Father would have been very cautious 5
 of letting him be entrusted with Money entirely to manage it himself, since he had given him no Reason to imagine that his Prudence would dispose of it to
 * the best Advantage; and, indeed, it was 10
 very plain that he did not, since he laid it out in fine Cloaths, and keeping Company with such People, from whom he could propose to derive very little Benefit : And, I believe, he is the first young
 * Gentleman that ever thought, that to see 15
 the World by Travel, was to go to *Guinea* amongst the barbarous *Negroes*. Well, let that pass, *Crusoe* has found a Master of a Vessel according to his own
 Heart, and so embarks both his Cargo 20
 and himself with him for *Guinea*, makes a prosperous Voyage, his forty Pounds having produc'd about three hundred;
 * two of which he puts into a Female 25
 Friend's Hand, and with the third sets out for a second Voyage to the *African* Shore, but is taken by a *Turkish* Rover and carried into *Sallee*; where, after he
 * had remain'd in Bondage above two 30
 Years, he makes his escape by throwing
 ing

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- * ing his Master's Kinsman into the Sea
and carrying off his Master's Boat, a Kind
of Long-Boat, and his Boy *Xury*; and
in this small Vessel goes above a thousand
* Miles thro' various Hazards and Adven- 5
tures, to which I have nothing to say.
All that I shall remark, is, that you
seem very fond of all Occasions of throw-
ing in needless Absurdities to make the
'Truth of your Story still the more doubt- 10
ed. What occasion else had you to make
Xury speak broken *English*, when he ne-
* ver convers'd with any *English* but *Ro-*
binson Crusoe? so that it had been more
natural to have made *Robinson* speak 15
broken *Arabick*, which Language he must
be forc'd in some Measure to learn;
whereas *Xury* had no motive in the
World to study so much *English* as he
makes him speak; but this is a Pecca- 20
dillo and not worth dwelling upon. Well
then, we are now to suppose *Robinson*
* *Crusoe* and *Xury* got as far almost as *Cape*
de Verd, when a *Portuguese* Ship takes
them up and carries them to *Brasil*; 25
where, with the Money he had rais'd by
the Sale of his *Boat*, his *Skins*, and his
* *Boy*, he settles himself as a Planter, and
* accordingly turns Papist in Thankfulness
to Heaven for his great Deliverance; and, 30
indeed, he always retains some Spice of
the

the Superstition of that Religion, in that
 vain Faith, which he not only himself
 * puts in *secret Hints*, as he calls them,
 but earnestly recommends to all others.
 Well, having fix'd his Plantation, he 5
 sets out upon new Adventures, as Super-
 cargo to a *Portuguese Ship*, bound to
 the Coast of *Guinea* to buy Slaves; and
 tho' he afterwards proves so scrupulous
 about falling upon the Cannibals or Men- 10
 Eaters, yet he neither then nor after-
 wards found any check of Conscience in
 * that infamous Trade of buying and sel-
 ling of Men for Slaves; else one would
 have expected him to have attributed 15
 his *Shipwreck* to this very Cause.

He sets out from *Brasil*, is taken in a
 Storm, and at last cast away upon an un-
 inhabited Island in the Mouth of the Ri-
 ver *Oroonoque*; where he only escapes, all 20
 the rest being drown'd. But here I can't
 omit one Observation of his, which is,
 that the Waves buried him twenty or
 thirty Foot in their own Body; I would
 * fain know by what Art *Robinson* could 25
 distinguish between five Foot, and twen-
 ty five or thirty. Well, be that as it
 will, your Friend *Robinson* is now got
 on Shore, tho' bruised in Body and trou-
 bled in Mind; and had, indeed, been in 30
 a very pitiful Condition, had not you
 the

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the next Day sent the Ship on Shore after him ; I mean, so near the Shore, that *Robinson* could easily get on Board her, and furnish himself with all Necessaries which his solitary Mansion requir'd ; that is, with Tools, Powder, Guns, Cutlasses, Bullets, and other Shot, and Lead to make more, as well as Cloaths, Linnen and Woollen ; besides so large a Cargo of Rum, that it lasted him, unconsum'd, above eight and twenty years.

* Tho' I should have wonder'd how three *English* Bible came on Board a *Portuguese* Ship, had he not told us, that they had come to him in a cargo from *England* ; yet I must still wonder, why *Robinson* should put three on Board for his Voyage to *Guinea*, when one was likely to be more than he would make use of, if we may believe his own Account of the little regard he had to any Religion. But it was necessary that he should have a Bible, to furnish you with the Means of Burlesquing the Sacred Writ, in the tedious Reflections you design'd to put into his Mouth ; of which by and by.

* I shall not take Notice of his striping himself to swim on Board, and then filling his Pockets with Bisket, because that is already taken Notice of in Publick ; and in the last Edition, at least, of the

- the Book, you have endeavour'd to salve this Difficulty, by making him keep his Breeches on ; tho' why he should do so I can see no reason ; and tho' he did do so, I don't find how the Pocket of a Sea-
- * man's *Breeches* could receive any Biskets, that being generally no bigger than to contain a Tobacco Pouch, or the like. I cannot pretend to dwell upon all the Absurdities of this Part of your Book, I shall only touch upon some few : And first, on his stated Account of the Good and
- * Evil of his present Condition in Page 77, where he says, on the dark side of his Account, *I have no Cloaths to cover me.*
- * But this is a downright Lie, according to his own Account, by which he brought a considerable Quantity of Linnen and Woollen from on Board the Ship : And then the next Head on the same side is, *I am without any Defence, or Means to resist any Violence of Man or Beast.* This is likewise another plain Contradiction of what he told us before, when he let us know, that he had brought on Shore two or three Barrels of Gunpowder, six or seven Guns, and several Pistols, with Shot and Bullets, besides Swords, Axes, Hatchets, *etc.* Next, I must observe, that
- * *Robinson*, like other great Wits, has but
- * a very short Memory ; for in Page 66, he tells

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tells us, that the Storm had carried the Wreck or Ship quite out of sight ; or, as he expresses it, *It blew very hard all that Night, and in the Morning when I look'd out, behold no more Ship was to be seen ;* 5
 * that *looking towards the Wreck, it lay higher out of the Water than it us'd to do.* I think the Contradiction is pretty plain, if seeing a Thing and not seeing it be a 10
 Contradiction.

Not to examine too nicely into Particulars ; I shall pass on to Page 155, where he again falls foul upon the Seamen and a Seafaring Life. *But, alas ! falling* 15
early into the Seafaring Life, which of all the Lives is most destitute of the Fear of God, tho' his Terrors are always before them ; I say, falling early into a Seafaring Life, and into Seafaring Company, all that 20
little Sense of Religion which I had entertain'd, was laugh'd out of me by my Messmates, by a harden'd despising of Dangers, and the Views of Death, which grew ha- 25
bitual to me by my long Absence from all manner of Opportunities to converse with any thing but what was like myself, or to hear anything that was good or tended towards it.

I have transcrib'd these Words of your Hero, honest D—n, that I may show 30
 you what an ungrateful and lying Rascal

D

he

he is; ungrateful in his Return of so many Favours and so much Honesty, which he had receiv'd from the Masters of both
 * the *Portuguese* and *English* Ships. He bespatters the whole Body of Seafaring Men, 5
 as a Company of impious Rogues, nay the most impious and abandon'd of all Mankind; and as for his Lying, it is plain, from his charging them all with profest Infidelity, and particulary of laughing him out 10
 his Fear of God; when, if we may give Credit to his own Narration, he never kept Company with Seamen above
 * three Weeks in all his Life, and that was from *Hull* to *Yarmouth*; and even those 15
 Seamen, Master and all included, sent up their Prayers to Heaven in their Distress. But was *Robinson Crusoe's* Religion
 * so very little settled in him, by his Free-School and House Learning, even at 20
 eighteen Years of Age, as to be laugh'd out of it in three Weeks time by a Company of ignorant Seamen? They might
 * perhaps laugh at his Fear of the Storm, they being made intrepid upon that Account 25
 by Use. But, honest *D—n*, I am afraid, with all your Sagaciousness, you do not
 * sufficiently distinguish between the Fear of God, and the Fear of Danger to your 30
 own dear Carcass. The Fear of God is an Excellence, a Virtue, a Duty; and, as the

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- * the Holy Scripture says, *the Beginning of Wisdom*; but the Fear of Danger is
- * mean, scandalous, unmanly, a Vice, and the Beginning of Folly; and, indeed, incompatible with that Fear of God, of which you have talk'd so much. Fortitude is by all acknowledg'd a Virtue, and of that Intrepidity is likewise acknowledg'd a considerable Part; and from hence flows that contempt of Danger, which you seem to impute to a want of the Fear of God; whereas, it may with much more Justice, be deriv'd from a firm Confidence in, or a perfect Resignation to the Divine Providence in all its Dispensations. It is, indeed, as I have observ'd, plain, that you are very much mistaken in your Notion of the Fear of God, which is a sort of a Filial Awe
- * not only consistent with Love, but, indeed, a Child of it; for Love makes every one, who is possess'd by it, afraid of being guilty of any Thoughts or Actions, which may be displeasing or offensive to the Object belov'd; and this you would be very sensible of, if in all your Life you had ever lov'd any thing better than yourself. But the Fear, which you contend for, is a meer abject, womanish Pusillanimity, or rank Cowardice

* perpetually terrified with those Acci-
 * dents which all sublunary Things are na-
 * turally subject to : a Fear, that has been
 the Mother of all the most dreadful Mis-
 chiefs to which Mankind has ow'd great 5
 Part of his Unhappiness. It has produc'd
 both private and publick Murders, De-
 vastations and Ruin of Nations and Peo-
 ple; for to this may we justly attribute
 the inhuman Barbarities of the *Spaniards* 10
 in the *West-Indies*, who, stimulated by
 this Fury, destroy'd above one and twen-
 ty Millions of People according to their
 own Writers : This Fear is the Ground
 and Origin of all, or most of our Re- 15
 venges; our supplanting one another, and
 all that Injustice and Dishonesty which is
 too visible in the Transactions of the
 World : This Fear, therefore, being but
 too much spread thro' Humankind, it has 20
 been the Care and Study of the Wise and
 Good of all Polite Nations to root it
 as much as possible out of the Mind, or
 at least so far to abate it, as to render its
 Effect less fatal to our Happiness. And 25
 yet this is the Fear which you endeavour
 to establish as the Fear of God, and
 measure the Piety and Impiety of Men, by
 the Share that they have of this; as if
 Cowards only could be good Chris- 30
 * tians. But to return to *Crusoe*, at his
 coming

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coming to Town, he says, he fell into very good Company, and among the rest, into the Acquaintance of a Master of a *Guinea* Ship, who was extreemly pleas'd
 * with his Conversation; which, as he 5
 tells us himself, was not at that time to be despis'd. Well, he goes to *Guinea* with this honest Captain, was his Mess-mate, and learnt of him during his Voyage the Art of Navigation; so that 10
 he could not have so much Time upon his Hands, as to be laugh'd out of his Religion in his Conversation with the Common Seamen; nor do I think he had the Opportunity of knowing their Sentiments in this Particular. It must therefore be the Captain and his Mate, who learnt him to despise God and Religion; and he must have a strange *Alacrity in*
 * *Sinking*. if he could fall from those settled Notions, that a Religious Education must needs have fixt in him, in one 20
 * Voyage to *Guinea*; for this is the only time, except the *Hull* Voyage, that he had convers'd with Seafaring Men. But 25
 if this were true, he ought not to lay the Crime of the *Captain* and his *Mate* upon all the Body of Seamen, since no Logick will ever allow arguing from a Particular to a General; and as it is bad Logick, so 30
 it is worse Religion, to lay the Crime of
 Two

Two upon a Million. Early in his next voyage he is taken by the *Salleeman*; and for the greatest Part of his fourth Voyage, he had no Companion but poor Xury. The Remainder of this Voyage he made in a *Portuguese Ship*, to the Master of which he ow'd, not only his Life then, but his Riches afterwards; and he was too

* ignorant of the *Portuguese Tongue*, to make any Discovery of the Vices of that Ship's Crew, or of being corrupted by them; nor could he in his fifth Voyage from *Brasil*, to the Time of his being cast away, furnish himself with any fresh

* Observations of this Kind, they being for the most part in that Storm which brought on their Shipwreck, in which he

* only escap'd. So that upon the whole, we find that *Robinson Crusoe*, even when he pretends to repent, is for throwing the Guilt of his Sin upon others, who, as far as we can possibly discover, did not at all deserve the Charge; and I dare believe, that he was in reality the only Person among them, who ever liv'd so many Years without saying his Prayers, or acknowledging God and his Providence, and is likely therefore rather to have been the Corrupter, than the Corrupted. But it seems he is not yet come so forward towards a true Repentance,

as

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as to take the whole Guilt on himself, which in reality no Body else had any Share in. He says, indeed, his Repentance was hinder'd by his Conversation with none but such as were worse than himself, and where he never heard mention of any thing that was good. But, dear *D—n*, this seems another gross Fib of your Friend *Robinson*, as I hope I have sufficiently prov'd in what I have said upon this Head. I have been longer than I design'd upon these Remarks, and therefore shall only transiently touch upon some few Occurrences of your Book : And tho' Nonsense be too frequent thro' the whole to merit a particular Remark as often as it occurs, I can't pass over this in Page 164 : *And now I saw how easy it was for the Providence of God to make the most miserable Condition, Mankind could be in, worse.* How, Friend *D—n* ! Worse than the worst, I thought, that beyond the superlative Degree there was nothing ; I am sure that *Robinson's* School Learning could not teach him this, perhaps he had it from his *House* Learning, with all the other false Grammar, which is to be found almost in every Page, particularly the *Nominative Case* perpetually put for the *Accusative*. But this is not worth stopping at. To proceed therefore :
 Tho'

* Tho' I cannot see how he could let the
 Goat out of the Pit, when he says it was
 so fierce that he durst not come near it ; yet
 let that pass. He tells us, that he went
 * out for five or six Days; he would have 5
 done well to have satisfied us, not only
 * how he carried his Provisions for that long
 Time, but also what became of his
 * Goats, who were not milk'd in so many
 * Days; whereas he afterwards tells us, 10
 that three Days Absence had lik'd to have
 spoil'd them on that very Account; he
 would have done likewise well, to have
 given his Reasons why he thought the Sa-
 * vages more dangerous than the Devil. 15

Tho' I have a great deal to say upon
 his Reflections, and their frequent Repe-
 titon almost in the same Words; yet for
 Brevity Sake, I shall say of them all, that
 * they seem brought in only to encrease the 20
 Bulk of your Book; they are seldom Just
 or truly Religious; but they have this
 terrible Circumstance, that they demon-
 strate that the Author has not the Fear of
 * God before his Eyes. *Ludere cum Sacris* 25
 is what he has not at all scrupl'd; as if he
 esteem'd it no Crime to set off his Fable
 with the Words of the *Holy Scripture*;
 * nay, he makes a Kind of *Sortes Virgilianae*
 of the Bible, by making *Crusoe* dip in- 30
 to it for Sentences to his purpose. To
 me

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me the Impiety of this Part of the Book, in making the Truths of the Bible of a Piece with the fictitious Story of
 * *Robinson Crusoe*, is so horribly shocking 5
 that I dare not dwell upon it; but must say, that they make me think that this
 * Book ought to be printed with *Vaninus*,
 * the *Freethinker*, and some other Atheistical Tracts, which are condemn'd and 10
 held in Abhorrence by all good Christians.

It is an odd Whimsy of *Crusoe*, to think of making Malt, which yet he knew not how to compass; whereas, he
 * might make good Wine with little or no 15
 trouble. But you tell us that your Friend *Robinson* was never in the right in his Life, and, I think, that you have pretty well kept up that Part of his Character, in all that he says or does 20

* In Page 207, and several subsequent Pages, as 234, 296 and 342, he presses very earnestly our serious Regard to the secret Hints and Impulses of the Mind, of which we can give no Rational Account. But I 25
 must tell him, that this is only the Effect of a blind superstitious Fear, which ought not to be minded by any Man of common Sense or Religion. We read, indeed,
 * of the *Daemon* of *Socrates*, who generally 30
 gave him notice and warning of any Evil
 E that

- * that threaten'd him : *Cardan*, a Modern *Italian*, pretended to the same, but has been laugh'd at for that Pretence by all the Learned Men who mention it : There
- * have likewise been some Enthusiastick Papists, who have believ'd that some of their Saints had done them the same Favour ; but for a Protestant to recommend this Superstition, is something extraordinary : But here the Dregs of Popery still hang about Mr *Crusoe*. 5 10
- * I would ask Mr *Crusoe* how he could see the saucer Eyes of the Goat in the Cave, when he tells us it was so dark that he could see nothing there ; this is not helpt by saying, that a Ray of the Light struck thro' the Mouth of the Cave, for then there was Light, which he says there was not ; and if there was, then he might have seen the Goat's Body as well as his Eyes. 15 20
- * He tells us that his Man *Friday* would not eat Salt, but we see not how he himself had any to eat ; well, we'll suppose he had made it out of the Sea Water. 25
- * He would have done well likewise to have told us how *Friday* could make his escape, since he assures us that the Victims were all bound till executed ; but perhaps this Caution was made use of after *Friday* had made his escape. He agrees with 30

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* with the *Spaniard* and *Friday's* Father, that they should bring a Contract in Writing, under the Hands of the other Spaniards, tho' he knew they had neither Pen, Ink, nor Paper; nay, he had 5
done well if he had inform'd us, how he could give them Instructions in Writing, when his *Ink* was gone so many Years before.

Well, *Crusoe* at last, and his Man *Fri-* 10
day, get away from his Island into *En-*
gland; and from thence he makes a
Voyage to *Portugal*, where having set-
tled all his Affairs and found himself a
* Rich Man, in obedience to his secret 15
Hints, he resolves not to go by Sea back,
but thro' *Spain* and *France* by Land, and
so only cross the Seas from *Calais* to *Do-*
ver. All that happens in this Land
Journey worth taking Notice of, is the 20
* monstrous Story of his Man *Friday* and
the *Bear*; they are passing the *Pyrenean*
Mountains thro' a very great Snow, the
Roads were so infested with Wolves, that
two of them fell upon their Guide, and 25
wounded him and his Horse, before *Fri-*
day could come up and shoot them; but
notwithstanding this Wound of the Guide,
and the howling of the Wolves all about,
and that it was within two Hours of 30
Night, and they had near three Leagues

to ride in the Snow, he makes a matter of thirty Passengers, and the wounded Guide, stand still in the Cold, to see
 * *Friday* make laugh, as he calls it, with
 * a Bear, that by Chance came that Way. 5
 * *Friday* pulls off his Boots and claps on his
 * Pumps, runs to the Bear and takes up a
 * great Stone, which he throws at him ; but
 how *Friday* could pick up a great Stone
 in a Place all cover'd deep with Snow, 10
 I know not ; nor can I tell, how *Friday*
 * came to know the Nature of the Bear,
 * since that is a Creature, which is never
 found in such a warm Climate, as *Fri-*
day's Country must needs be, since it was 15
 * so near the *Equinox* : I believe it is equal-
 * ly true, that the whole Company laugh'd
 at *Friday's* managing the Bear ; but, in-
 deed, this Book seems calculated for the
 Mob, and will not bear the Eye of a ra- 20
 tional Reader. Well, *Robinson* at last
 gets again to *London*, marries, has three
 Children ; he is near sixty five years of
 Age, which one would think was old
 * enough to leave off Rambling, having 25
 * especially a plentiful Fortune ; yet he
 tell us, that he takes a Trip, as it were
 for Pleasure, to his old Island in *America*,
 and thence to *Brasil*, and so rambles
 about till seventy five years of Age, and 30
 how much longer I know not, an Ac-
 count

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count of which he promises in his next Volume. I hope, dear *D—n*, that you have taken more care of Probability and Religion than you have in this; tho' I am afraid you are too harden'd a Sinner in these Particulars, to give us any Proof in your Works of your sincere Repentance, which yet is heartily wish'd you, by

Your Friend and Servant, etc.

POSTSCRIPT.

* Having just run thro' the first Volume and clos'd my Letter, I was told that the second Volume was at last come out. I was too much tir'd with the Badness of the Road in my first Journey, to venture upon another the same Way, without resting to recover my Patience, of which I was to have sufficient use in my passing thro' the second Part. I am afraid that *Robinson Crusoe* reserv'd so much *Opium* for his own Use, when he dispos'd of the rest to the Merchant of *Japan*, that he has scarce been thoroughly awake ever since; and has communicated that somniferous Quality of the Drug to his Writing thro' the whole second Part, which every where prepares you for Sleep;

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Sleep ; to avoid a Lethargy therefore, I shall not dwell upon it, and its perpetual Succession of Absurdities, but only touch upon some few, which may serve for Samples of the whole. I cannot, how-
 ever, omit taking particular Notice of the Editor's Preface, because it is not only written by the same Hand, but also very singular in its Kind : you begin with
 * a Boast of the Success of your Book, and 10
 which you say deserves that Success by its Merits, that is, *The surprizing Variety of the Subject, and the agreeable Manner of the Performance.* It's well you tell
 * us so yourself, the judicious Reader else 15
 must have been puzzel'd to find out the Mystery of its Success. For first, as to the Variety of the Subject, it will be a hard
 * Matter to make that good, since it's spread 20
 out into at least five and twenty Sheets, clog'd with Moral Reflections, as you are pleas'd to call them, every where in-
 * sipid and awkward, and in many Places of no manner of Relation to the Occa-
 sion on which they are deliver'd, besides 25
 being much larger than necessary, and frequently impious and prophane ; and al-
 * ways canting are the Reflections which you are pleas'd to call religious and use-
 * ful, and *the brightest Ornaments of your* 30
Book, tho' in reality they were put in by
 you

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- * you to swell the Bulk of your Treatise
up to a five Shilling Book ; whereas,
the Want of Variety in your Subject,
would never have made it reach to half 5
* forc'd to give us the same Reflections
over and over again, as well as repeat
the same Fact afterwards in a Journal,
which you had told us before in a plain 10
Narration. So *agreeable is the Manner*
of your Performance ! which is render'd
more so by the excessive Sterility of your
Expression, being forc'd perpetually to
say the same Things in the very self same
* Words four or five times over in one 15
Page, which puts me in Mind of what
* *Hudibras* says,

*Would it not make one strange
That some Mens Fancies should ne'er change,
But always make them do and say 20
The self same Thing, the self same Way ?*

- * Another agreeable Thing in the Perfor-
mance is, that every Page is full of *So-*
lecisms or false Grammar. However, this 25
* may be, for ought I know, a very agree-
able Performance to most of your Buy-
ers.

Your next Triumph is, that the Re-
proaches of your Book as a Romance,
and

- * and as being guilty of bad Geography, Contradictions, and the like, *have prov'd Abortive* (I suppose you mean ineffectual) *and as impotent as malicious*; but here, as well as in other Places, you are guilty of a great Abuse of Words : For first, they have not been impotent, since all but the very *Canaille* are satisfied by them of the Worthlessness of the Performance ; nor can the exposing the Weakness and Folly of any assuming and ignorant Scribbler be properly call'd malicious ; they who malign eminent Worth, may, indeed deserve such a Name ; but what hath been said of, or done against such an incoherent Piece as *Robinson Crusoe*, can at worst been only call'd Indignation ; and that was what the eminent Satirist was not asham'd to own, as the Motive and Support of his Verses.

Si Natura negat facit Indignatio versum.

- And thus I may say of my present Letter to you ; that if want of Genius forbid my Writing at all, that Defect is largely supplied by Indignation, not Malice or Envy ; for Folly and Ignorance can never produce them. However, I find that these Endeavours you seem to condemn as impotent, have yet had so great

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- great a Force upon yourself, as to make
 * you more than tacitly confess, that your
 Book is nothing but a Romance. You
 say, indeed, *The just Application of every*
Incident, the religious and useful Inferences 5
drawn from every Part, are so many Testi-
monies to the good Design of making it Pub-
lick, and must Legitimate all the Part that
may be called Invention or Parable in the
Story. But when it is plain that there are 10
 * no true, useful or just Inferences drawn
 from any of the Incidents; when Reli-
 gion has so little to do in any Part of
 these Inferences; when it is evident that
 what you call Religion, is only to mis- 15
 lead the Minds of Men to reject the Dic-
 tates of Reason, and embrace in its
 * Room a meer superstitious Fear of I
 know not what *Instinct* from unbodied
 Spirits; when you impiously prophane 20
 the very Name of Providence, by allot-
 ting to it either contradictory Offices, or
 an unjust Partiality: I think we may
 justly say, that the Design of the Publi- 25
 cation of this Book was not sufficient to
 justify and make Truth of what you al-
 low to be Fiction and Fable; what you
 mean by *Legitimizing, Invention, and Pa-*
parable, I know not; unless you would
 have us think, that the manner of your 30
 telling a Lie will make it a Truth. One
 F may

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* may say a great Deal in Answer to what
 * you urge against the Abridgment of your
 * Book, but it is too absurd to dwell upon,
 and against the Practice of all Ages and
 all Nations : what think you, honest 5
 * *D—n* of the *History of Justin* ? Was not
 that an Abridgment of *Trogus Pompeius*,
 whose long History of the World is lost,
 and the Abridgment of *Justin* remains to
 this Day ? nor can I find that ever he 10
 was stigmatiz'd for it with a Crime as
 bad as Robbing on the Highway. What
 * think you of *Darius Tibertus*, a Modern
Italian, who abridg'd the Lives of *Plu*
tarch in the *Latin* tongue ? what do you 15
 suppose of the Abridgment of the Vo-
 * luminous History of *Guarini* ? what of
 * the *Latin* Abridgment of *Pliny* ? what
 * think you of the great *Fontinel* ? (for I
 think I may call him great, after what 20
 * Sir *William Temple* has said of him) he
 tells you himself, in his Preface to his
History of Oracles, that this Book is but
 * an Abridgment of *Van Dale*, who writ a
 prolix Treatise upon that Subject. But 25
 not to dwell upon Foreigners, we have
 * a hundred Instances in our own Tongue
 of the like Practice, in many of which
 Booksellers of undoubted Probity have
 been concern'd ; indeed, there is this 30
 to be said, that most of these Abridg-
 ments

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ments have been of Books of a real
 intrinsick Value; but yours might for
 me have continu'd unabridg'd, and still
 retain'd all its *brightest Ornaments*, as you
 call them; but if the omitting of those 5
 * be the only Fault of the Abridgment, I
 * can't but think his Work more valuable
 than the Original, nor do I see that he
 has done your Proprietor any damage,
 since he has left to your larger Volume 10
 all those Beauties you are so fond of, and
 may, indeed, be said to be only an Ad-
 vertiser of them to those that have them
 not. If he has preserv'd the Fable entire,
 * the Judicious will not want your clum- 15
 sy and tedious Reflections to recom-
 mend it; for, indeed, by what you say,
 you seem not to understand the very Na-
 ture of a Fable, which is a sort of Wri-
 ting which has always been esteem'd by 20
 the wisest and best of Men to be of great
 use to the Instruction of Mankind; but
 then this Use and Instruction should natu-
 rally and plainly arise from the Fable it-
 self, in an evident and useful Moral, either 25
 exprest or understood; but this is too large
 a Subject to go thro', and to shew that
 * by the Rules of Art you have not attain'd
 any one End and Aim of a Writer of
 Fables in the Tale that you have given 30
 us. I shall therefore proceed to those few

Remarks, which I have made in a cursory reading of your second Part.

The first Thing I remark, is, that you are at your Dreams again Page 3d and 4th; for most of the Religion of your Book consists in Dreams. The next Thing I shall just hint at, is what you say about the three Pirate Sailors in the same Page — *So if I had hang'd them all, I had been much in the right, and should have been justifiable both by the Laws of God and Man*, the contrary of which Assertion is directly true, viz. That if you had hang'd them all, you had been guilty of downright Murther by all the Laws of God and Man; for pray, sweet Sir, what Authority had *Robinson Crusoe* so much as to fine, or inflict any Punishment upon any Man?

Some Follies, I find, are like some Distempers, catching : Thus, Madam *Crusoe*, by conversing with her wise Husband, extravagantly fancies his fantastick Whimsies to be the Impulse of Divine Providence, *ibid*.

Against the next Edition of your Book, profound *Da—l*, I wish you would take the Pains to explain the following Piece of Nonsense, so far as to make it intelligible; for I can meet with no Body, no, not the most skill'd in the ab-

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- abstruser Sciences, that can so much as
 * guess what you would be at. I transcribe
 them for your serious Consideration, *No-*
thing can be a greater Demonstration of a fu-
ture State, and of the Existence of an invi- 5
sible World, than the Concurrence of second
Causes with the Ideas of Things, which we
form in our Minds, perfectly reserv'd and not
communicated to any in the World, Page
 * 10; and in Page 12, he is making it a 10
 resisting of Providence, if he did not go
 a rambling at about sixty five Years of
 * Age. I only note this *en passant*, to re-
 mind you of what noble Offices you as-
 sign to the Divine Providence, by attri- 15
 buting to the Impulse of that all Things
 that are irrational; a very pious Notion
 of the eternal Divine Wisdom! I shall
 only observe on that odd Account, given
 * Page 20, of the extravagant Joy of the 20
French that were sav'd by *Crusoe*, when
 their Ship was burnt, that they were cer-
 tainly a Ship-load of extreme Cowards or
 Madmen; for nothing but the Extremity
 of Cowardice or Lunacy could ever pro- 25
 duce so general a Distraction. It is con-
 fess'd, that unexpected Deliverances will
 have strange Effects upon some very few
 particular People, but then this Delive-
 rance must be very sudden and very un- 30
 ex-

expected : but this is not the Case here;
 for all the Time the Ship was burning,
 * *Crusoe* discharg'd Guns to let them know
 that Relief was at Hand; and all the
 Night after, when the Flame of the burnt 5
 Ship was extinguish'd by the Sea, the
 * same *Crusoe* set out Lights upon his Ship,
 and frequently discharg'd Guns to direct
 the Boats loaded with the Crew of the
 burnt Ship towards their Safety, which 10
 they found could not be far off; and to-
 wards which, by this Means, they might
 * every Minute make some approach; so
 * that Hope was not gone, no not for one
 Minute, which makes all those extrava- 15
 gant Effects of Joy utterly improbable;
 nay, I may say, impossible.

I shall pass *Friday's* speaking broken
English twelve Years after he had been
 with his Master, and almost as unintelli- 20
 gibly, as after he had been with him
 but twelve Days; nor shall I stop long
 upon the *Spaniards* Prognosticating Hu-
 * mour, from Dreams and unaccountable
 Whimsies, because the *Spaniard* seems to 25
 have learnt this by dwelling so long in
Crusoe's Habitation; for he has the same
 Notion of secret Correspondence betwixt
 unbodied and embodied Spirits, which
Crusoe every where avows. But, dear 30
Da—l, you have forgot yourself, you
 make

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- * make a *Spaniard* speak here, the most bigotted of all Papists; and therefore it had been more natural for him to have attributed this secret Intelligence to Saint *Jago*, or the Blessed *Virgin*, or even to his Angel Guardian : But, indeed, you frequently forget the Religion of your Speaker, and make the *Spaniard* in your first Part quote Scripture Instances, which he could never be suppos'd to have read in all his Life, or ever heard mention'd. But to go on, for I will say nothing of the Savages Landing in the Night to make their Feast; for they are your Savages, and you may make them go where and when you please, and for what you please. I shall pass, therefore, on to *Crusoe's* Learned Discourse with the *French Popish Priest* in Page 146, etc. which has, indeed, as gross Marks of Falshood and inartificial Fiction, as any thing in your Book : you make the Priest call the Living of the four Englishmen with their *Indian Wives* (because unmarried according to the Laws and Customs of any Christian Country) *Adultery*. Had *Crusoe* call'd it so it might have been tolerable, and have pass'd for the Ignorance of a Seafaring Man; but to make a Priest talk so, whose Trade it is to know the distinct

distinct Names of every Sin, is a plain
 Proof that all this came out of thy in-
 ventive Noddle. For you must know,
 Friend *Da—l*, that all Carnal Com-
 merce between two single Persons is cal- 5
 led Fornication, and not Adultery; Adul-
 tery is when a married Woman or a
 married Man has this criminal Commerce
 with any other but her Husband, or his
 Wife : How, therefore, a *Romish* Priest 10
 should tell *Crusoe*, that his *Englishmen*
 without Marriage would live in continual
 Adultery, is what you would do well
 to make out; for I am satisfy'd, no Priest
 in Christendom would call it by any 15
 other Name but Fornication. Nor has that
 a better Face of Truth, which you make
 * the Popish Priest speak about Idolatry,
 Page 150; where, in the Person of the
 * Popish Priest, he complements Popery 20
 with a known and intolerable Lie, where
 he makes him express his Zeal for bring-
 ing the *Indians* over to the Christian Re-
 ligion in general; nay, even to the making
 * of them Protestants : Now it is very well 25
 known, that the Papists in general, and
 much more a zealous Popish Priest and
 Missionary, do not allow any Heretick,
 as they call all Protestants, any better
 Place in the next World than that of 30
 eter-

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eternal Damnation; so that unless he brought the Pagans over entirely to Popery, he must throw away all his Labour and Pains, in his own Opinion, as much as if he had done nothing at all. Of the
 * same absurd Nature is all that passes be- 5
 * twixt the Priest and *Atkins*; for tho' *At-*
kins knows him not to be a Popish Priest, he knows very well that *Atkins* is an
English Protestant *Heretick*, and there- 10
 fore, that he shall set him no nearer to Salvation by the Repentance he per-
 swaded him to, than if he had left him where he found him. Well, *Atkins's* Wife
 * gets to be christen'd by this Means, and 15
 * is married to her Husband, as *Jack of all*
Trades is to the young Woman taken up at Sea; but for the rest, we hear no more
 * of their Marriage, than of *Friday's* be- 20
 ing christen'd himself, during his twelve
 Years Service with that zealous Teacher of the Christian Religion *Robinson Cru-*
soe.

I shall not quit this *Popish Priest*, till I have said something upon a Point, for
 which he is recommended to our Ad- 25
 miration by this same Protestant *Crusoe*; and that is, upon the Popish Missiona-
 ries being sent about the World to make Converts from one Idolatry to another, 30
 G from

from a less to a greater; that is, from Paganism to Popery. Well, let us hear
 * what the Priest says in Page 151. *It is a Maxim, Sir, that is, or ought to be receiv'd among all Christians, of what Church or pretended Church soever, (viz.) That Christian Knowledge ought to be propagated by all possible Means, and on all possible Occasions. 'Tis on this Principle that our Church sends Missionaries into Persia, India, and China; and that our Clergy, even of the superior Sort, willingly engage in the most hazardous Voyages, and the most dangerous Residence among Murtherers and Barbarians, to teach them the Knowledge of the true God, and to bring them over to embrace the Christian Faith.*

There is scarce one Word of Truth in all this Quotation; and it is only drest up
 * in Words, that are calculated to give the Protestant Reader an agreeable Idea of Popery, on purpose to smoothe the Way, as far as his little Abilities can do it, for the Popish Superstition to enter these Kingdoms; that the Popish Church does, indeed, send Missionaries to these three Places, mention'd in the Quotation, and some others, is certainly true. I do confess that they will roam about the
 World

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World to make one Proselite, but then it is as true, that they make this Proselite ten times more the Child of the Devil than he was before; it is true, I say, that they do send their Clergy abroad, 5

* but not their superiour Clergy, as this Quotation falsely asserts, but *Jesuits* and some other regular *Orders*; nor is their

* Business in reality to bring the Pagans to the Knowledge of the true God and the 10

* Christian Religion, but to carry on a private interloping Trade, by which they bring in vast Treasures into their particular Orders. What sort of Christians

* they make, is evident from that great 15

Noise and Stir, which has been made some years before the Congregation *De Propaganda Fide* in *Rome* itself; where it has been prov'd, even by Roman Catho-

* lics, that the Jesuit Missionaries in *China* 20

have only incorporated the Heathen Religion of that Place into that which the Romish Church professes; and that they

* have admitted *Confucius* into the Kalendar among the Saints, to be pray'd to, as 25

well as *St Peter* and *St Paul*, and the *Virgin Mary*. Dear *Da—l* art thou not now asham'd of having brought in such

* notorious Falsities in the Defence of Popery? If Zeal for the Propagating the 30

Gospel of Christ were the Motive that set these Itinerant Preachers to work, why do they not go to the poor *Tartars*, whose Ignorance and Idolatry you do pretend to describe? why do they not go to the poor *Laplanders* and *Samoides*, where there is nothing to be got; no Traffick to be establish'd beneficial enough to warm their Zeal, and make it travel for the Conversion of Souls in those cold Countries? why do they seek all the richer and more gainful Part of the World for their Missions? But to go on with these sort of Queries, would be to swell my Postscript to a much greater Bulk than I design. From what has been said, I believe, it may be pretty plain, that this sending of Missionaries of the *Popish Church*, is a mere Political Trick, without the least Tincture of true Religion.

I have been so long upon this, that I shall say nothing of honest *Robinson's* being oppress'd by the Power of the Priest's Reasoning, which yet is so very weak and false as I have show'd you; or proceed to a particular Confutation of what the Priest advances upon Matrimony, tho' in many Things very false. But it is observable that *Crusoe*, after all

the

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the Zeal of the Popish Priest against the Pirates living with their *Indian* Wives without Marriage, sends from *Brasil* several Women for the use of the *Spaniards*, who were not before married; and that without sending any Priest with them to marry them. 5

* I shall pass over, likewise, the Maid's Discourse upon Starving, because I cannot see that it is any ways entertaining or instructive, but a very clumsy Product of the most unphilosophical Head in the World. 10

* And I shall only ask you, how a Man should chuse any particular Way or Vocation of Life, if he must not take his own Judgment; for this is plainly to tell us, that Man must chuse no Way nor Vocation at all, since you will not allow him the only Means of chusing which God and Nature has given him: This is the plain *English* of your Assertion in Page 218. From hence I shall skip to Page 15

* 302, where there is a very particular Blunder or Contradiction; for he first 20

* tells you, that the Horse the *Chinese Mandarin* rid upon, was a poor lean Creature, not worth above 30 or 40 Shillings; and yet presently after, in Page 304, he says, that there was not a Horse in the Retinue 25
nue 30

nue of the *Mandarin*, but was so covered
 with *Equipages*, *Mantles*, *Trappings*, and
 such like *Trumpery*, that you cannot see
 whether they are *Fat* or *Lean* : In a Word,
 we could scarce see any thing but their Feet 5
 and their Heads.

Before I follow him out of *China*, I
 shall only add one Word or two on his
 Account of that famous Kingdom, which,
 contrary to all those who have really been 10
 * there, he makes a most despicable Place,
 where there is nothing of *Politeness* or
Learning ; but that Singularity of yours
 will never perswade us to think, that the
 Writer of it was ever nearer to *Pequin* 15
 than *London* : And, therefore, I shall not
 * doubt but that *Sir William Temple* fol-
 low'd as just Relations of this Country,
 as any *Mr De F—e* could pretend to
 meet with, who makes it the most Po- 20
 lite and magnificent Empire in the
 World.

Well, I am quite tir'd with your Jour-
 ney of the *Caravan*, and can but just
 take Notice of *Robinson Crusoe* and the 25
 * *Scotchman's* burning one of the *Tartarian*
Gods, at the Hazard, not only of their
 own Lives, but of all the rest of the *Cara-*
van, which must certainly have follow'd,
 * had not the Ingenuity of a *Tartar* in their 30
 Re-

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Retinue turn'd off the Storm, and set the
 ten thousand *Tartars* upon a wrong Scent,
 which should lead them, at least, five
 hundred Miles out of their Way. And
 here I conclude, satisfied with having 5
 * check'd that Vanity which is so apparent
 in both your Volumes, especially in the
 Preface to your last, by offering some
 few only of that Multitude of Absur-
 dities and Profaneness of which both 10
 Parts are full; for to have touch'd upon
 every one, would have swell'd my Re-
 marks to the Bigness of at least one of
 * your Volumes. But *ex pede Herculem,*
ex ungue Leonem, a small Sample is suffi- 15
 cient to give a Taste of the whole.

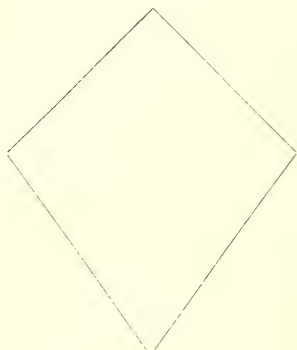
The Christian Religion and the Doc-
 * trines of Providence are too Sacred to be
 deliver'd in Fictions and Lies, nor was
 this Method ever propos'd or follow'd 20
 by any true Sons of the Gospel; it is
 what has been, indeed, made use of by
 * the Papists in the Legends of their
 Saints, the Lying Wonders of which
 are by Length of Time grown into such 25
 Authority with that wretched People,
 that they are at last substituted in the
 Place of the Holy Scriptures themselves.
 For the Evil Consequences of allowing
 Lies to mingle with the Holy Truths of 30
 Re-

(48)

- * Religion, is the certain Seed of *Atheism* and utter Irreligion; whether, therefore, you ought to make a publick Recantation of your Conduct in this Particular, I leave to yourself.

5

FINIS.



NOTES

TITLE-PAGE

An imitation of the title-page of De Foe's novel :
« The | Life | and | Strange Surprizing | Adventures |
of | Robinson Crusoe, | of York, Mariner : | Who lived
Eight and Twenty Years, | all alone in an un-inhabited
Island on the | Coast of America, near the Mouth of |
the Great River of Oroonoke ; | Having been cast on
Shore by Shipwreck, where- | in all the Men perished
but himself. | With . An Account how he was at last
as strangely deli- | ver'd by Pyrates. | Written by
Himself. » The typographical arrangement of both
titles is practically the same. — The title of Gildon's
work does not correspond exactly to the contents of the
pamphlet, but it was intended to excite the reader's
curiosity.

- l. 6. — D... De F... means Daniel de Foe. Throughout the pamphlet D..n is put for Dan, and D...l for Daniel (with perhaps an intention to suggest D(evi)l as well as D(anie)l.
- l. 8. — De Foe always styled himself a « trader » and denied he had ever stood behind the counter ; and, in fact, as early as 1683, he had a wholesale office in Freeman's Yard, nearly opposite the entrance to Change Alley. He exported hosiery and cloth, and imported wines and drugs. Whenever his enemies wanted to wound his pride, they called him *hosier*, sock-seller, or civet-cat merchant.
- l. 10. — De Foe was born in 1660, so that he was 59 when Gildon wrote his pamphlet.
- l. 11. — There is some truth in saying that De Foe lived *by himself*, because his work as a governmental spy pre-

vented his having many friends, and he never mixed with « polite » or literary circles.

North Britain. This alludes to De Foe's frequent visits to Scotland, from 1706 to 1712. He was sent by Harley to watch events during the discussions about the Union, and later to study the consequences of the treaty.

l. 12. — See note to p. III, l. 16.

l. 13. — *Discoveries* : this word does not apply to any precise part of Gildon's pamphlet. It alludes probably to De Foe's plans, most of which had been explained in his *Essay upon Projects* (1697).

l. 18. — Robinson Crusoe always calls Friday « my man Friday ».

l. 22. — « Let him be deceived, who wants to be deceived » (Cp. Luke VIII, 8). Latin epigraphs were the rule in pamphlets. Swift, in the *Examiner*, taunted De Foe with being « illiterate », and De Foe was sufficiently concerned to answer : « I have been in my time pretty well master of five languages, and have not lost them yet, though I write no bill over my door, *nor set Latin quotations in the front of the Review* » (Rev. VII, 455).

l. 23. — J. Roberts had already published two of Gildon's works : the *New Rehearsal* (1714), and *Canons, or the Vision* (1717). He always prudently refrained from publishing seditious libels.

THE PREFACE

P. III. — The beginning is an imitation of the Preface to *Robinson Crusoe* : « If ever the story of any private man's adventures in the world were worth making public, and were acceptable when published, the Editor of this account thinks this will be so. — The wonders of this man's life exceed all that (he thinks) is to be found extant; the life of one man being scarce capable of a greater variety. The story is told with modesty, with seriousness, and with a religious application of events... » — Then the texts differ.

l. 14. — There is some truth in this sarcasm : in his prefaces and dedications, De Foe showed no small opinion of his own merits; and even when he wished to appear

modest and humble (as in the *Letter to Mr. How*, 1701), his humility savoured much of the Pharisee.

l. 16. — An allusion to De Foe's political *changes*. He was a Moderate Whig, but his attachment to Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, led him to compromise with his conscience, when, in 1710, Harley became the head of a Tory ministry.

l. 18 etc. — Proteus, a sea-god who is represented as having knowledge of the past, present and future; but unwilling to give away his knowledge, he assumed different shapes in order to terrify those who came to consult him. Menelaus took him by surprise during his sleep, and seized him, holding more tightly at each new shape he assumed, until at last having exhausted his tricks, the God returned to his ordinary form and gave Menelaus the information he wanted (*Odyssey*).

P. IV. — *l. 7.* — In reality there were about 19 cities which claimed the honour of being Homer's birthplace. But the common tradition mentions only 7 of them, viz. Chios, Smyrna, Cyne, Colophon, Pylos, Argos and Athens.

l. 10. — *Nonjurors, Papists, and Atheists.* — This is entirely false. De Foe, a staunch Dissenter, always waged an implacable war against Jacobite Priests (Nonjurors), Roman Catholics, and Atheists whom he called Mendevils (*Serious Reflections of Robinson Crusoe*). He had so zealously endeavoured to thwart the efforts of the Jacobites that he would probably have been hanged if the Pretender « had enjoyed his own again ».

l. 18. — This last sentence is an imitation of the last sentence in *Robinson Crusoe* : « all these things, with some very surprising incidents in some new adventures of my own for ten years more, I may, perhaps, give a farther account of hereafter ».

THE DIALOGUE

P. V. — *l. 4.* — De Foe hated being called Daniel Foe, which was his real name. In 1695, when he had become a courtier, he had assumed the aristocratic particle *De*, thus reverting to the primitive name which was prob-

- ably borne by his Flemish ancestors (See our book : *Daniel De Foe et ses romans*, I, 3). Throughout the pamphlet itself, Gildon calls him Foe (see p. XIV).
1. 8. — De Foe had been educated at *Newington Green*, in Merton's Academy, and finding the country agreeable, fixed his abode at *Newington Town* (also called Stoke Newington) in 1709. *Robinson Crusoe* was written in his large house in Church Street, which was almost a mansion, with a magnificent garden and extensive pleasure-grounds. He often went on horseback to London ($3\frac{1}{2}$ miles), returning home in the evening. It is unlikely that De Foe ever in reality crossed the fields on foot after midnight, when he had a coach and horses, and very well knew that the environs of London were not safe.
1. 10. — The beginning of the Augustan Period was the age of kidnappers and highwaymen : the exploits of Cartouche, Jack Sheppard, Jonathan Wild, are famous in the literature of the time. De Foe invented very successful biographies of rogues, such as *Moll Flanders*, and *Colonel Jack*. In 1728, Gay's *Beggar's Opera* was received with extraordinary applause.
- P. VI. — 1. 1. — *Geneva*, or gin, « a mixed water », newly imported from Holland. Its cheapness made it very popular, and in 1710 gin-shops were opening everywhere. Some retailers even exhibited placards in their windows intimating that there « people might get drunk for 1 d. and clean straw in comfortable cellars would be provided for customers ». De Foe wrote against the immoderate use of gin, and advocated good English beer in its stead. (See his articles in Applebee's and Mist's Journals, and the pamphlets he wrote under the pseudonym of Andrew Moreton).
1. 2. — That the roads were unsafe about Stoke Newington may be seen by a reference to contemporary papers. The *Daily Post* for Feb. 6th 1720 announced : « On Wednesday last (Feb. 3rd) in the evening, the stage-coach was robb'd near the Palatine houses, going from the town to Stoke Newington, by two highwaymen who took from the company their money, a watch, and from one gentlewoman about 30 pounds' worth of

new cloaths ». But De Foe was no coward. He often sent challenges to men who threatened to cane him : « If this gentleman thinks himself capable to give me personal correction, he knows me well enough, and need never want an opportunity to be welcome » (*Letter to Mr. How*)... « I move about the world unguarded and unarmed ; a little stick, not strong enough to correct a dog, supplies the place of Mr. Observator's [Tutchin] great oaken towel ; a sword sometimes, perhaps, for decency, but it is all harmless, to a mere nothing, and can do no hurt anywhere but just at the tip of it, called the point : and what is that in the hands of a feeble author ? » (*Review*, II, 214)... « As to defence, I have some thoughts to stay at home by night, and by day to wear a piece of armour on my back ; the first, because I am persuaded these murderers will not do their work by daylight ; and the second, because I firmly believe they will never attempt it fairly to my face. » (*Review*, VI, Pref.). — His enemies vainly tried to waylay him ; some of them had their revenge on his brother-in-law, Samuel Tuffley, whom they mercilessly caned on one occasion (1711).

- i. 7. — *Philistines* : perhaps Gildon is sneering at De Foe's frequent references to the Bible.
- l. 9. — *Secret Hint* : De Foe believed that the sudden impulses of our mind are caused by a friendly *daimôn*, the messenger of God's Providence. Instances of the curious influence of the Supernatural World on the destiny of men are innumerable in *Robinson Crusoe*. In the *Vision of the Angelic World* (3rd vol.) he dedicates whole pages to the question. He sums up his ideas in a passage of the first vol. (p. 72) : « When we are in a quandary, as we call it, a doubt, or hesitation, whether to go this way or that way, a secret hint shall direct us to go this way when we intended to go another way ; nay, when sense, our own inclination, and perhaps business has called to go the other way, yet a strange impression upon the mind, from we know not what springs, and by we know not what power, shall overrule us to go this way, and it shall afterwards appear that had we gone that way which we would have gone, and even to our imagination ought

- to have gone, we should have been ruined and lost... »
- l. 14.* — This is a mixture of Crusoe's dress as described by De Foe and the classical dress of conspirators. — The hatchet was the only weapon Crusoe would give at first to Friday.
- l. 20.* — Friday is described as a good sprinter. He fled from his would-be butchers « with exceeding strength and swiftness », and Crusoe tells us « he was the swiftest fellow of his feet that I ever saw ». (p. 93).
- l. 28.* — *Devils of thy own raising.* — This expression occurs in Lucan (I, 486), and later in Montaigne (*Apol.*) and Pascal (*Pensées*, Brunschvicg ed. II, 88).
- l. 31.* — Poll (Crusoe's parrot), waking his master, calls aloud : « Poor Robin Crusoe ! Where are you ? Where have you been ? How came you here ? » (p. 62).

P. VII. — *l. 2.* — *Paradise Lost*, book II.

- l. 11.* — A parody of the absurd episode of the bear in the last pages of De Foe's novel. Friday, spying a « very monstrous bear » says to his master : « O pray ! O pray no shoot ! me shoot by and then ». He entices the bear up a tree, then on to a small bough, which he shakes lustily, « making good laugh » all the while. He at last shoots the bear, and turns triumphantly to Crusoe, saying : « So we kill bear in my country. » (p. 111).
- l. 17.* — Gildon here makes rather witty use of his belief that bears could not exist in Friday's tropical country (see p. 28).
- l. 19.* — It is strange to hear Friday quote this name from *Reynard the Fox*, which was hardly to be known in his country « near the mouth of the great river of Oroonoke ».
- l. 22.* — Perhaps this expression is intended to ridicule De Foe's solemn manner in his articles of the *Review*, — as the idea of the whole sentence may be intended to ridicule Crusoe's reflections on the helplessness of man : « I then reflected that God, who was not only righteous but omnipotent, as he had thought fit thus to punish and afflict me, so he was able to deliver me; that if he did not think fit to do it, it was my unquestioned duty to resign myself absolutely and entirely to his

will; and, on the other hand, it was my duty also to hope in him, pray to him, and quietly to attend dictates and directions of his daily providence ». (p. 66).

- l.* 30. — « Before the tribunal of Conscience ». — De Foe's adversaries taunted him with not knowing Latin, an accusation which annoyed him greatly. (See *Review* II, 149, and VIII, 429, and the *Complete English Gentleman*, p. 200). — *Free-school* and *House learning* are the vague terms by which De Foe describes his hero's learning : « My father, who was very ancient, had given me a competent share of learning as far as house education and a country free-school generally go. » Gildon criticises these terms again on pp. X and 6 (see the notes to these pages).

- l.* VIII. — *l.* 5. — « I had alas! no divine knowledge; what I had received by the good instruction of my father was then worn out by an uninterrupted series, for eight years, of seafaring wickedness, and a constant conversation with nothing but such as were like myself, wicked and profane to the last degree... » (p. 44).

- l.* 8. — « ... When I got on shore first here, and found all my ship's crew drowned and myself spared, I was surprised with a kind of ecstasy and some transports of soul, which, had the grace of God assisted, might have come up to true thankfulness, but it ended where it began, in a mere common flight of joy, or as I may say, being glad I was alive, without the least reflection upon the distinguishing goodness of the hand which had preserved me...; even just the same common sort of joy which seamen generally have after they have got safe on shore from a shipwreck, which they drown all in the next bowl of punch, and forget almost as soon as it is over, and all the rest of my life was like it... » (p. 44). Crusoe came back to the worship of God only when a violent fever put him in mind of death.

- l.* 11-15. — Gildon alludes to Crusoe's statement on p. 58 : « falling early into seafaring company, all that little sense of religion which I had entertained was laughed out of me by my messmates ». Gildon's criticism that De Foe abused English sailors is unjust. De Foe

always considered individuals and not nations; Crusoe met with a Portuguese who was honest and kind to him, but this Portuguese was not an ordinary sailor. The English captain of the ship that rescued Crusoe from his island is described as a just and bold fellow. It is true that, in the *Further Adventures*, the English crew of Crusoe's nephew's ship consists mostly of cruel and dissolute Englishmen. But among the colony of Crusoe's island there are both « good » and « bad » Englishmen. Though De Foe's love for paradox led him to describe honest and pious Spaniards and wicked Englishmen, he did not systematically condemn the English nation. Indeed, his writings are more conspicuous for jingoism than for xenomania (cp. p. 18).

- L. 22. — « I had once a mind to have gone to the Brazils, and have settled myself there, for I was, as it were, naturalised to the place; but I had some little scruple in my mind about religion; which insensibly drew me back, of which I shall say more presently. However, it was not religion that kept me from going thither for the present; and as I had made no scruple of being openly of the religion of the country all the while I was among them, so neither did I yet; only that now and then having of late thought more of it than formerly, when I began to think of living and dying among them, I began to regret my having professed myself a Papist, and thought it might not be the best religion to die in ». (p. 108).
- L. 30. — *Popish Priests* : the Prior of the Monastery of St Augustine in Brazil, who administered Crusoe's property during his stay on the island, is a kind and honest man. In the *Further Adventures*, a French Catholic priest, who is both pious and tolerant is introduced. The Catholic Spaniards who inhabit Crusoe's island are peaceful and industrious men. Father Simon, a missionary whom Crusoe meets in China, is « courteous, easy in his manners and very agreeable company ». De Foe loved paradox, and delighted to bewilder the mind of his simple readers; indeed, to a Puritan reader of De Foe's time, a virtuous Papist was a greater wonder than a unicorn.

l. 31. — *Popish religion* : this is exaggerated. Crusoe admired some individual Catholics, but not Popery as a whole. He attacked « Romish Superstition » (p. 86), the Inquisition (p. 94), and, in the *Further Adventures*, he denounced Catholic intolerance (p. 46), Catholic errors (p. 59) and Catholic fanaticism (pp. 57, 72); he also bitterly criticised the work of Catholic missionaries (pp. 75-76).

P. IX. — *l. 2.* — Crusoe is 63 when he leaves England to revisit his island. He returns to London ten years afterwards, having visited Madagascar, India, China, and having crossed Asia from Pekin to Archangel. A strenuous voyage for an old man !

l. 10. — Gildon is right : Friday's intelligence and extraordinary readiness in learning would be impossible in a Caribbee savage.

l. 12 etc. — « I made Friday go out upon the deck, and call out aloud to them in his language to know what they meant; which accordingly he did. Whether they understood him or not, that I know not ; but as soon as he had called to them, six of them, who were in the foremost or highest boat to us, turned their canoes from us, and, stooping down, showed us their naked backsides... Whether this was a defiance or challenge we know not ; or whether it was done in mere contempt, or a signal to the rest, but immediately Friday cried out they were going 'o shoot; and unhappily for him (poor fellow) they let fly about 300 of their arrows, and, to my inexpressible grief, killed poor Friday, no other man being in their sight. » (*Further Adventures*, pp. 55-6).

l. 15. — But Crusoe might reasonably have hoped that Friday could have made himself understood by men of a neighbouring tribe, even if their language was not exactly the dialect spoken by his own.

l. 25. — i. e. the *French Priest* rescued by Crusoe from a burning ship, who afterwards evangelized the colony on the island ; *Will Atkins*, the pirate left on the island, who reformed and became a good Christian ; the *Priest in China* (Father Simon), Crusoe's companion in China ; the *Nephew's ship's Crew*, the gang of sail-

ors who behaved so cruelly in Madagascar, and who, annoyed by Crusoe's reproaches, abandoned him on shore in India.

l. 30. — *Tutani* (Totall St.) in Westminster, — *Lime-house hole*, in the East-End.

l. 31. — Though this is intended to ridicule De Foe's book, it is a striking acknowledgment of its extraordinary popularity in London (1st ed. April 25th — 4th ed. Aug. 8th).

P. X. — l. 2. — *The Pilgrim's Progress*, by John Bunyan, was first published in 1678. Its success was such that in 1680 the booksellers were selling the 11th ed.

l. 3. — *The Practice of Piety, directing a Christian how to walk that he may please God*, by Lewis Bayly, bishop of Bangor, was first issued about 1611. In 1613 it had reached its 3rd, in 1619 its 11th, and in 1630 its 25th edition. It was translated into French (Geneva, 1625), into German (Zürich 1629), into Polish (1647), into Welsh (1630), into the language of the Indians of Massachusetts (Cambridge 1665), and into Romansch (1668). Bunyan tells us his wife « had for her part the *Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven*, and the *Practice of Piety*, which her father had left her when he died ». Bayly's book had an important influence over Bunyan's mind. Many Puritans looked upon it as an authority equal to the Bible.

The Triumphs of God's Revenge against Murther, expressed in 30 tragical histories, by John Rainolds (or Reynolds), — one of the translators of the Bible, — was first published in 1622. It ran into many successive editions (1629, 1635, 1640, 1657, 1662, 1670, 1679, 1685, 1704, 1708, etc.). To the 1679 ed. was added *God's Revenge against Adultery*, and the 1685 ed. bore the following title : *the Glory of God's Revenge against Murther and Adultery*. — From one of Reynold's « histories » Middleton and Rowley took the plot of their tragedy, the *Changeling* (1653, 1668).

l. 6. — *Pye Corner*, in Giltspur St. near Smithfield Market ; a poor quarter.

l. 7. — *Guy of Warwick* : the hero of a famous Anglo-Saxon legend which recounts the wonderful achievements by

which he obtained the hand of his lady, the Fair Felice, — and also the adventures he subsequently met with in a pilgrimage to the Holy land and on his return home. The first poem that deals with the legend is a Norman-French poem of the end of the 13th century ; the oldest English version is a little later. The first popular edition of the English version was printed by John Cawood in the latter end of the 16th century (*The Historie of Guy, earl of Warwick*; 4 to). The knight's adventures made the subject of a poem by Samuel Rowlands (1607), which suggested a *Play called the Life and Death of Guy of Warwick* by John Day and Thomas Decker; the play is not now extant. A popular ballad on Guy of Warwick, by Humphrey Crouch, was first printed in 1665, and repeatedly reissued in the 17th and 18th centuries. The romance was reduced to prose by Martin Parker in 1640. A chapbook in 4 to, first issued in London in 1684, was frequently republished in all the chief cities of England. Another version in 12 mo, published in London in 1706, was still more successful. — In *Hudibras* (I, 2) Talgol, the butcher, is compared to Guy of Warwick :

« He many a Bore and huge Dun Cow
Did, like another Guy, o'erthrow
But Guy with him in fight compar'd
Had like the Bore or Dun Cow far'd. »

Bevis of Southampton (or more correctly, of *Hampton*) accomplished marvellous exploits of which the chief was the slaying of the terrible giant Ascapart. They are related in the 2nd book of Drayton's *Polyolbion* (1622) ; the romance was already popular at that time : Thomas East, stationer and printer, had published a ballad entitled *Syr Bevis of Southampton* in the last years of the 16th century. Ballads and chapbooks dealing with Bevis were repeatedly reissued throughout the 17th and 18th centuries.

1. 8. — The *London Prentice* is the title of many romances which were spread by pedlars throughout England, in ballads and chapbooks. The outlines of these romances are the same : they recount the exploits of a London apprentice who slew giants or dragons and rescued a

... princess whom he married. — Heywood's play, the *Four Prentices of London* (first played in 1601, published in 1615) was parodied and ridiculed in the *Knight of the Burning Pestle* (1611) by Beaumont and Fletcher. — Under the title *The London Prentice*, some chapbooks of the 18th century contain simply the well-known story of Dick Whittington. — Such romances as those quoted here by Gildon were certainly in the pack of Autolycus (*Winter's Tale* IV, 3).

M... w... r... — I have been unable to find with certainty what name these initials represent. Perhaps Gildon thought of John Mawer, a poor hack-writer who wrote ballads and achieved some success in 1727 by his poem *Liberty Asserted*. But we have no evidence that connects Mawer in any way with De Foe's work.

- l. 18. — De Foe himself had already suggested this idea in the preface to the *Further Adventures*: « The just application of every incident, the religious and useful inferences drawn from every part, are so many testimonies to the good design of making it public, and must legitimate all the part that may be called invention or parable in the story ». By insisting on the allegorical character of the tale, Gildon paved the way for the 3rd vol. of *Robinson Crusoe*.
- l. 23. — Before the Civil War, the city of *Kidderminster* (Worcestershire) was notorious for its ignorance and depravity. In 1640, some inhabitants sent a petition against their curate, and it was decided to appoint a free preacher in his stead. The Presbyterian minister Baxter was chosen. His preaching performed miracles, and whereas, before, the moral were to be counted on the ten fingers, ere long, the passing traveller heard the sounds of prayer in every household. Kidderminster became a model of Puritan cities, and was the stronghold of Puritanism in a county which sided with the Cavaliers. Hence the banner of Kidderminster became a symbol for the Dissenters.
- l. 26. — De Foe had had a better education at Morton's Academy in Newington Green, as good almost as the education given in the Universities.
- l. 30. — The meaning of the expression *out of my time* is

not clear. At first sight Gildon seems to mean that De Foe did not belong to his time, — was, according to the common expression, « born out of his time ». — It is more likely from the context that Gildon uses « being out of » in the sense of « issued out of », and therefore that De Foe, on the contrary, belonged to his age, when impudence was a sure road to success. On p. XII De Foe is made to say, « anything that is boldly writ will go down with either party ».

‡ 31. — De Foe was very popular as an orator in the Whig and Dissenting clubs of the City during the reign of James the Second, when he denounced the King's policy towards Non-conformists.

P. XI. — l. 5. — De Foe published his first poem in 1691 ; he was then 31. The poem, *A new discovery of an old intregue*, was a satire levelled at the Jacobites.

l. 6. — *Authorizing*, i. e. authoring : perhaps a *lapsus lingue* when Gildon was dictating. De Foe discussed in pamphlets or satirical poems the chief problems of the reign of King William, as the legitimacy of a standing army, the predominance of Dutch Courtiers, Reformation of manners, Occasional Conformity for Dissenters etc.

l. 9-15. — *Lime Kilns* : about 1695, De Foe became secretary to a factory of bricks and pantiles at Tilbury. His connexion with this factory could not be the cause of his bankruptcy which had happened 3 years before (1692) : at that time he had been obliged to leave his office in Freeman's Court, near the Royal-Exchange, and hide in Bristol. During his period of concealment, except on Sundays he never went into the streets for fear of bailiffs. It may be that on his way to Bristol he stopped in several towns, — which would justify Gildon's statement : « rambling from place to place ».

l. 28. — De Foe became a professional author after his imprisonment in Newgate (1703) which ruined the brick and tile factory.

P. XII. — l. 2. — De Foe being a Dissenter by upbringing had no choice but to join the New Whigs, devoted to William III, and the Protestant Succession.

l. 11. — *Nutcrackers* : a cant word for « pillory » (*Diction-*

ary of the canting Crew, 1700 : the Cull lookt through the Nutcrackers). De Foe was arrested on May 20 th, 1703, for writing the *Shortest Way with the Dissenters* in which by ironical suggesting extreme measures against the Dissenters, he ridiculed the intolerance of High-Churchmen against them. He was tried in July, found guilty of libel, and condemned to be exposed in the pillory on July 29 th in front of the Royal-Exchange in Cornhill, on July 30 th near the Conduit in Cheapside, and on July 31 st at Temple Bar. But this punishment was a triumph, as the crowd sided with him against the government.

- l. 15. — De Foe was not bribed by the Tories : he merely followed Harley who had rescued him from Newgate, when, in 1709, Harley entered the new ministry as a moderate Tory. This obliged De Foe to change the tone of the articles in his *Review* for fear of displeasing the new friends of his patron.
- l. 20. — It is true that for some time the Whigs did not perceive the change in De Foe's *Review* and continued to pay him.
- l. 25. — This happened in February 1711, as we know from a letter to Harley in which De Foe complains for the first time of the hard usage he received from his old friends, the Whigs. The *Captain* was probably the officer of the Whig club who paid De Foe for his propaganda.
- l. 28. — In reality, these words were uttered by Samuel's ghost (I Sam. 28). Here Gildon ridicules De Foe's fondness for Bible quotations. Even in his correspondence, De Foe constantly quoted the Bible : thus, in a letter to the Secretary of State, dated April 26 th, 1718, he called watching the Tory papers in the interest of the Whig ministry : « bowing in the House of Rimmon ».

P. XIII. — l. 2. — *Buenas Noches* : the mistake in the text was made either by the printer, or by Lloyd, Gildon's amanuensis, who was not a well-educated man and frequently spelt words wrong in the letters Gildon dictated to him. De Foe, in his novels, was fond of quoting scraps of foreign languages : here Gildon sat-

irizes this habit, and suggests De Foe's real ignorance by his humorous translation of the Spanish.

- l. 5. — *Saint-Germain*, near Paris, where James II held his court, was long the centre of Jacobite intrigues. Gildon alludes to the Jacobite tendencies of Harley's ministry ; but De Foe remained faithful to the Protestant Succession, so that Gildon's attack is unjust.
- l. 6. — *Proprietors* : i. e. Harley, Earl of Oxford, and Saint John, Viscount Bolingbroke, whose influence appears for a short period in De Foe's writings, for example in the commercial newspaper *Mercator*.
- l. 8. — In the *Further Adventures*, Crusoe's endeavour to burn an inoffensive Tartar Idol which he considered an insult to the true God brought on him and his companions the anger of the natives.
- l. 9. — In 1713 De Foe wrote anti-Jacobite pamphlets with ironical titles : *Reasons against the succession of the House of Hanover*, — *What if the Pretender should come ? or some Considerations of the advantages and real consequences of the Pretender's possessing the Crown of Great Britain*, — and *What if the Queen should die ?* — The Whigs tried hard to indict him for high treason, hoping that Harley would imprudently come to the rescue of his faithful ally, and thus reveal their relations.
- l. 11. — *Tripes*, i. e. the three-legged stool, upon which condemned men stood when they were to be hanged at Tyburn (near Paddington). — Gildon exaggerates here, for the Whigs did not hope to secure De Foe's death : they simply sought to have him imprisoned in Newgate.
- l. 12-13. — Harley helped De Foe to obtain a Royal Pardon, which was granted on Nov. 20 th, 1713 and signed by Bolingbroke. De Foe published the text of his pardon in his *Appeal to Honour and Justice*.
- l. 14. — This is inexact. Since the king's landing in England, (Sept. 18 th, 1714), De Foe had ceased corresponding with Harley ; he had deeply resented the latter's repudiation of tracts he had written in his behalf (*History of the White Staff*, etc.). His subsequent pamphlets vindicating the conduct of Harley's ministry were written not on Harley's account, but to vindicate

himself. (See *Daniel De Foe mystificateur*, in *Revue Germanique*, 1923).

- l. 18-19. — This is a slander : De Foe had a lax conscience, but there were three masters who could never have bribed him into their service : the Pope, the Pretender, and the Devil.
- l. 23. — De Foe's facility for writing bad poetry was deplorable : John Dunton, the Whig bookseller, described him as « rhyming in his sleep ». But De Foe did not write *Jure Divino* in three weeks. This long poetical poem in 12 books, which he considered his masterpiece, was begun in Newgate in the summer of 1703, and was issued by subscription on July 20th, 1706. De Foe got very little money for his labours, as his poem was pirated by a bookseller who bribed a pressman to steal copies of the sheets as they were successively printed. — It is true, as Gildon suggests, that there is little poetry in the composition.
- P. XIV. — l. 1. — Dryden got £ 200 for his translation of Virgil. But Gildon is certainly referring to Pope, who received over £ 5,000 for his translation of the *Iliad* (1715).
- l. 4. — Here Gildon enviously alludes to Prior who received from his publisher about 4,000 guineas for a complete edition of his poems (1718, folio), and on the same occasion £ 4,000 from Harley, to purchase Down Hall, an estate in Essex.
- l. 12. — In 1704, De Foe, indignant at what he thought the ingratitude of his countrymen towards their deliverer, William of Orange, — and incensed by a poem of Tutchin, the *Foreigners*, in which the King and the Dutch in general were plentifully abused, wrote a satirical poem to prove that the English nation was such a mixture of the worst of different races, that the expression *True-born Englishman* was meaningless. The success of the poem was tremendous : no less than 80,000 pirated copies were sold in the streets, and the King expressed a wish to know the author personally. — De Foe's poem has since been used by enemies of Great Britain in the last years of the 19th century : parts of it were republished by Indian Nationalists.

- l. 10. — Vanity, not hatred of the English, was the chief motive that led De Foe to change his name (See p. V, note). *De Foe* seemed to indicate a Norman origin, while *Foe* looked like a plebeian Saxon name.
- l. 24. — The idea of prepossessing the Papists in one's favour would have been preposterous at a time when it was becoming more and more impossible that the Pretender would reign.— De Foe's love of paradox, shown in his *True-Born Englishman* and *Shortest Way with the Dissenters* is probably the motive that led him to introduce some sympathetic Roman Catholics in *Robinson Crusoe*.
- l. 27. — *Fox-hunters*, i. e. the country squires, many of whom, though Protestant, had remained attached to the Stuarts.

P. XV. — l. 1. — *Old teachers* : i. e. the Dissenting ministers and Low-churchmen.

- l. 2. — *A Friendly Epistle by way of Reproof, from one of the People called Quakers to Thos. Bradbury, a Dealer in many Words* (Feb. 1715) was the first of a series of pamphlets by De Foe, all couched in the Quaker style. The Friends' way of speaking was so well imitated that, in an advertisement in the *London Gazette*, the Quakers protested that they had no hand in the pamphlet which, by that time, had reached its 5th edition. Bradbury was reproved by De Foe for making political addresses in the pulpit, and particularly for calling for the blood of the late ministers.
- l. 5. — i. e. the *Bishop of Bangor*. De Foe's pamphlet (1717) was entitled *A Declaration of Truth to Benjamin Hoadley, one of the High Priests of the Land, and of the Degree whom Men call Bishops. By a Ministering Friend, who writ to Thomas Bradbury, a Dealer in many Words*. Gildon had certainly not read this pamphlet, which commended Hoadley's Christian broad-mindedness. It is true that De Foe, when he found these pamphlets had an easy sale, wrote several of them on both sides of the Bangorian controversy. — He was so pleased with his talent in imitating the Quaker style that, in two novels, *Captain Singleton*

and Roxana, he introduced Quakers who are among his best drawn characters.

- l. 7. — Contrary to Gildon's assertion, De Foe was only 59 in 1719. — The subsequent attack against De Foe for his supposed fickleness in religion is unjust, too : De Foe always remained a staunch Dissenter.
- l. 10. — Coarse jokes of this kind were characteristic of the Augustan Period.
- l. 12. — *Mahometism*, i. e. Mahometanism : though unusual, this form of the word was not absolutely incorrect at this time.
- l. 13. — *Coryate*, a traveller who from the year 1612 till his death (1617) journeyed throughout Asia. He obtained an audience of the Great Mogul and delivered an oration in Persian. His letters, sent from the court of the mighty potentate to « several persons of quality in England », were first published in 1616; they were frequently reprinted in the 17th and 18th centuries.
- l. 28. — This passage may have suggested to De Foe the idea of a review of the various religions of the world, which forms one of the longest chapters in the *Serious Reflections*. Crusoe concludes that English Protestantism is by far the best religion.
- l. 30. — *to catch a Tartar* properly means to encounter some one who unexpectedly proves to be too strong an opponent. There is of course a pun in the text. De Foe used this expression in *Captain Singleton* (XVI) : « Tell him, if he should try, he may catch a Tartar ».

A Leap into the Dark, i. e. : if De Foe was engaged in a dangerous enterprise, whose consequences he was unable to foresee.

- P. XVI. — l. 3. — *Janesaries*, i. e., Janizaries (or Janissaries), Turkish soldiers of a privileged class.
- l. 5. — *You and I*. — Gildon, later (p. 23, see note) accuses De Foe of continually putting the nominative for the accusative.
 - l. 6. — This is not true : De Foe was attached to the Protestant Succession, if merely through self-interest; for if the Pretender had succeeded Queen Anne, De Foe

would have been sent to the gallows for his anti-jacobite pamphlets.

l. 8. — *Monomotopa* is a negro empire in the Zambesi region (Africa), about which fabulous tales were current at the time.

l. 19. — *Deter all others* is, of course, ironical, as the following lines show.

l. 21. — All Crusoe's adventures did in fact turn to his profit.

l. 30-31. — Friday's curious English was intended by De Foe to give local colour to his tale. — Here, Gildon calls *Robinson Crusoe* a lie, i. e. a romance, which is inconsistent with his general statement that the book is allegorical.

P. XVII. — l. 2. — De Foe frequently quotes the Bible for the edification of his readers : in the first volume of *Robinson Crusoe* alone, no less than 20 complete verses are quoted.

l. 7. — i. e. the French Priest, Will Atkins, Father Simon, and the Crew of Crusoe's nephew's ship (see note to p. IX, l. 25).

l. 13. — If De Foe had written a criticism of Gildon's pamphlet, he might have asked how every one of such a number of men could hold one of his limbs.

l. 25. — *Bolus* (Latin : morsel, bit), i. e. a large pill. The word was usual at the time in advertisements of quack medicines.

l. 27. — The first volume of *Robinson Crusoe* contains 364 pages of text, with Frontispiece, title-page and a preface 2 pp. long. — The text of the *Further Adventures* occupies 373 pages with map, title-page and preface of 4 pp.

P. XVIII. — l. 10-11. — *Past three a clock, etc.* : the cry of the watchmen.

l. 12. — There is perhaps here a reminiscence of the end of the scene of the witches in *Macbeth*, which Gildon had studied for his edition of the spurious 7th vol. of *Shakespeare's Works*.

l. 17. — This coarse joke was a favourite with contemporary pamphleteers. The author of a broadsheet entitled 'A

Hue and Cry after Daniel De Foe for Denying the Queens hereditary right, by Robin Hog, 1711, » directed the same piece of coarse wit against De Foe :

Now Daniel De Foe, now run for thy life,
For Robin Hog swears by's old grunting wife,
He'll end all your government quarr'ls and strife...
He'll hunt you thro' all the Fanatical race,
Throw salt in your breech lest you stink in the chase. »

- l. 21-22. — i. e. in 1691-2. If the Royal Regiment had been removed, England would have been left defenceless, and a successful Jacobite invasion would have entailed punishment for William's zealous supporters.
- l. 25. — Gildon had already criticised this sentence in the Postscript to his epistle (p. 37), and his use of it here must have seemed very witty to contemporary readers.

THE EPISTLE

- P. 1. — l. 5. — *Robinson Crusoe* was issued anonymously ; but the author of such a « best-seller » could not remain long undiscovered. De Foe's peculiar tricks of style were well-known from the *Review* which was very popular.
- l. 8. — See the notes to pp. V (l. 4) and XIV (l. 16).
- l. 13. — De Foe was in fact over-fond of long-winded sentences with endless parentheses. He sometimes uses popular, but incorrect, forms, such as double negations, *who* instead of *whom*, etc. He has frequent repetitions : 1) of the same idea (« his family and household, a kind of appetite and lust ») ; 2) of the same word (p. 14 : « I latched hold of Friday : hold, said I ») ; and 3) of the same descriptions (his ladders, his tame goats, etc.).
- l. 14-15. — Practically, the whole of Gildon's criticism turns on the improbabilities and impossibilities of De Foe's tale.
- l. 2. — l. 5. — This charge had the power of wounding De Foe to the quick (see the Preface to the *Serious Reflections*).

- l. 9. — The last sentence of *Robinson Crusoe* (published on April 25th, 1719) [« all these things, with an account how 300 Caribbees came and invaded them, and ruined their plantations, and how they fought with that number twice, and were at first defeated and one of them killed; but at last a storm destroying their enemies' canoes, they famished and destroyed almost all the rest, and renewed the possession of their plantation, and still lived upon the island; — all these things with some very surprising incidents in some new adventures of my own for ten years more, I may perhaps give a farther account of hereafter. »] shows that De Foe expected success. The *Further Adventures*, which were written hastily, appeared on August 20th. Gildon's epistle was composed before the publication of this second volume.
- l. 21. — Anything that was *ancient* found favour with Gildon.
- l. 23. — « Inspired writers » (i. e. the authors of the Bible) was Gildon's contemptuous expression when he wrote deistical tracts. (See Gildon's life).
- l. 27. — *Useful Moral*. — This is exactly what De Foe says in his preface to *Robinson Crusoe* : « The story is told... with a religious application of events to the uses to which wise men always apply them, viz. To the instruction of others by this example, and to justify and honour the wisdom of Providence in all the variety of our circumstances, let them happen how they will. »
- P. 3. — l. 11. — When Robinson asked his mother to approach his father about his plans, she replied « that she wondered how I could think of any such thing after such a discourse as I had had with my father, and such kind and tender expressions as she knew my father used to me; but I might depend I should never have their consent to it; that for her part she would not have so much hand in my destruction ». And later, when Crusoe, alone on his island, repents of his wicked life, he particularly deplores his « falling early into the seafaring life, which of all the lives is the most destitute of the fear of God ». So that there is much apparent truth in Gildon's criticism. But *Robinson Crusoe*

roused in many English boys their dormant desire of travelling to distant lands, and so attracted them to a seafaring life.

- l. 19.* — « I was born in the year 1632, in the city of York... — My father... had designed me for the Law ». (*Robinson Crusoe*, p. 17).
- l. 24.* — Here Gildon points out one of the characteristics of De Foe's work. God's Providence seems to have a special regard for Crusoe; sometimes it helps him, sometimes it thwarts his designs. It plays in fact the rôle of the Nemesis of the Ancients.
- l. 25.* — The first storm occurred during Crusoe's early voyage to London. The second, when his ship foundered and he was the sole survivor, flung him on his desert island.
- P. 4.* — *l. 3, etc.* — But in the dialogue (p. XVI), Gildon, who wishes to find fault with De Foe at any price, insinuated that *Robinson Crusoe* was an immoral book because, in it, Crusoe's disobedience to his parents was not punished.
- l. 6.* — The popular idea of the potency of the paternal curse is frequently expressed in De Foe's book. Crusoe's father makes a prophecy (p. 18) : « That boy might be happy if he would stay at home, but if he goes abroad, he will be the most miserable wretch that was ever born », (which, as it turns out, is not entirely true). At the end of his first voyage, Crusoe is told by the Captain of the ship he was embarked in (p. 21) : « Young man, depend upon it, if you do not go back, wherever you go, you will meet with nothing but disasters and disappointments till your father's words are fulfilled upon you ». — Lastly Crusoe, alone on the island, laments (p. 45) : « Now my dear father's words are come to pass : God's justice has overtaken me, and I have none to help or hear me ».
- l. 10-20.* — In Puritan families the authority of the father was still very great. De Foe described a Puritan, and wrote for Puritan readers.
- l. 30.* — Crusoe was born in 1632, and left his father's house in Sept. 1651.

- P. 5. — *l.* 3. — See note on p. VI (*l.* 9). — Gildon's argument here is cunning enough, but De Foe might have answered that, after all, Crusoe came to fortune and happiness.
- l.* 16. — « He told me it was for men of desperate fortunes on one hand, or of aspiring, superior fortunes on the other, who went abroad upon adventures, to rise by enterprise, and make themselves famous in undertakings of a nature out of the common road; that these things were all either too far above me, or too far below me; that mine was the middle state, or what might be called the upper station of low life... » (*p.* 17).
- l.* 18. — Though Crusoe's father did not speak of putting his son to a trade, we know that he had contemplated it some time or other. — Crusoe represents to his mother « that he was 18 years old, which was too late to go apprentice to a trade ». And a few lines lower, he says that « he continued obstinately deaf to all proposals of settling to business ». — Gildon's arguments concerning Crusoe's problematic trade are tedious and far-fetched : his criticism, which sometimes contradicts itself, is, in general, mere fault-finding.
- P. 6. — *l.* 19. — See the note to p. VII. De Foe meant that Crusoe's education was begun at home and finished in a free-school, at, or near, York. He could not assign to his hero a particular school or university, as the Gildons of the time might then have proved that the book was « a lie » and thus greatly diminished its sale.
- l.* 22. — De Foe does not give us definitely to understand that Robinson remained in his « country free-school » till the age of 18.
- l.* 23. — This statement, and a paragraph (*p.* X, *l.* 26) in the dialogue insinuate that De Foe was no scholar and did not know Latin.
- l.* 28. — This attack on attorneys is excusable when we remember that Gildon, when still a very young man, was cheated out of £ 400 by a dishonest lawyer (see Gildon's life, I).
- l.* 29. — « But I would be satisfied with nothing but going to sea, and my inclination to this led me so strongly against the will, nay, the commands of my father... that

there seemed to be something fatal in that propension of nature tending directly to the life of misery which was to befall me ». (p. 17). — « I told my mother that my thoughts were so entirely bent upon seeing the world, that I should never settle to anything with resolution enough to go through with it, and my father had better give me his consent, than force me to go without it » (p. 18).

- l. 7. — l. 5. — But De Foe's intention was to represent a rash and inconsiderate boy, unable to resist the strong impulse that urged him to a seafaring life.
- l. 14. — Crusoe never used this expression of himself; but it is true he laments that in his youth he often acted against « the dictates of common sense and of his own conscience ».
- l. 15. — Crusoe, belonging to a Puritan family, would not, when very young, have dared to oppose paternal authority.
- l. 21. — Certainly De Foe does not relate conversations between Crusoe and the master of the ship, but a novelist is not obliged to tell everything.
- l. 26. — Gildon is right in pointing out this contradiction. De Foe gives us to understand that the master of the ship knew of Crusoe's presence on board at the beginning (p. 18), and he would need to have a very short memory to have forgotten it at Yarmouth.
- l. 30. — « I told him some of my story, at the end of which he burst out with a strange kind of passion. « What had I done », says he, « that such an unhappy wretch should come into my ship ! I would not set my foot in the same ship with thee again for a thousand pounds » (p. 21). — This superstitious belief in the evil eye was common among sailors (cp. *Further Adv.* pp. 64-65).
- l. 8. — l. 1. — (Jonah, I). « Perhaps this all has befallen us on your account, like Jonah in the Ship of Tarshish », the master tells Crusoe (p. 21).
- l. 6. — De Foe's habit of perpetually quoting the Bible was due to his upbringing. His father, James Foe, a well-to-do butcher of Fore-street, destined him for the minis-

try. His mother, Alice Foe, made him copy the whole Pentateuch as a task. The boy was sent to Morton's Dissenting Academy in Newington Green. He might have become a peaceful Non-conformist minister, but « his inclinations led him another way ». (*Rev.* VI, 341). — Some traces remained of his training, however; his articles in the *Review* for instance, and many of his pamphlets, almost look like sermons.

l. 7. — When Christ was tempted in the wilderness (*Matt.* IV, 6).

l. 12. — Hazlitt's ed. p. 21.

l. 17-18. — There is much truth in this criticism : De Foe's heroes have all of them some traits of the Dissenting preacher in their character.

l. 18-21. — A very awkwardly constructed sentence. Gildon's thought is as follows ; « which I should as little suspect him to be... as (I should suspect) that... »

l. 27. — But Crusoe was sea-sick and terrified, and unable to reflect calmly, so that the terrific noise of the gun seemed to him the signal of immediate death.

P. 9. — *l.* 2. — Crusoe's conception of Providence is unorthodox, but it is part of his character. (See note to p. 3, *l.* 24).

l. 17 *etc.* — Crusoe, a superstitious Puritan of the lower middle class could not be expected to reason like Gildon. — De Foe himself, though he believed in « secret hints » did not share the superstitious ideas of his hero.

P. 10. — *l.* 4, *etc.* — This comparison between the dangers and wickedness of life on sea and life on land is utterly futile.

l. 24. — *A creature of your own* : this idea is repeated on p. 11 (*l.* 7). It shows that when he wrote this epistle, — that is, before he had read the preface to the *Further Adventures*, — Gildon did not yet consider the tale allegorical. (See : Introduction).

l. 27. — Being a Puritan, Crusoe was always inclined to exaggerate his sins, and trembled all day long in fear of God's wrath.

P. 11. — *l.* 10. — *No ways necessary* : De Foe's art consists exactly in this choice of small details, unnecessary to

the plot, which give an appearance of truth to his tale. Many people read *Robinson Crusoe* because they believed it a true biography : a *Fable* would not have interested them. Yet De Foe, in the preface, with his customary prudence, had cleverly insinuated a doubt of the authenticity of his tale : « The Editor believes the thing to be a just history of fact ; neither is there any appearance of fiction in it ; and however thinks, because all such things are disputed, that the improvement of it, as well to the diversion as to the instruction of the reader, will be the same... »

- l. 11.* — Gildon copies many of De Foe's peculiar tricks of style. *More of this hereafter* is a favourite sentence of De Foe's. — Gildon copies other phrases from *Robinson Crusoe* : of which by and by (p. 15), of which in its place, etc.
- l. 12.* — *Monsieur* is used with a contemptuous meaning. Since the Restoration the word was applied to fops and rakes. Cp. Wycherley's *Gentleman Dancing-Master*, and Swift's *Salamander* :

« We say monsieur to an ape,
Without offence to human shape. »

- l. 15.* — « We walked afterwards on foot to Yarmouth, where, as unfortunate men, we were used with great humanity, as well by the magistrates of the town, who assigned us good quarters, as by particular merchants and owners of ships; and had money given us sufficient to carry us either to London or back to Hull as we thought fit » (p. 20).
- l. 17.* — Gildon exaggerates : Crusoe only says « he had money in his pocket and good clothes upon his back » (p. 21).
- l. 21.* — Crusoe tells us (p. 21) : « I embraced the offer ; and, entering into a strict friendship with this captain, who was an honest and plain-dealing man, I went the voyage with him, and carried a small adventure with me, which, by the disinterested honesty of my friend the captain, I increased very considerably, for I carried about 40 *l.* in such toys and trifles as the captain directed me to buy. This 40 *l.* I had mustered together by the assistance of some of my relations whom I cor-

responded with, and who, I believe, got my father, or at least my mother, to contribute so much as that to my first adventure ». It is not unlikely that a father should help a son, once he realised he was bent on keeping to the course of life he had chosen. Gildon himself, on the following page, suggests this possibility.

- P. 12. — l. 5. — But Crusoe was young and unhappy, and what would not a father, even a Puritan father, do to relieve the distress of a son, even of a disobedient son ?
- l. 11. — Here Gildon misrepresents the text. Crusoe buys « good clothes », which is but natural after the wreck, and in London falls « into good company, which does not always happen to such loose and unguided young fellows »; the chief of his new friends is the Guinea trader, « an honest and plain-dealing man. ».
- l. 15. — Crusoe was not a « young gentleman » travelling for his pleasure », but a boy who, having to earn his living, took to a seafaring life because urged to it by his « rambling thoughts ».
- l. 25. — Gildon uses on purpose an equivocal term to name the widow of the Guinea trader who was « so just » to Crusoe. On p. 105 Crusoe calls her : « my benefactor and faithful steward ».
- l. 29. — *Sallee*, i. e. *Sale*, a holy city on the coast of Morocco, which was, during the 18th century, the chief harbour of pirates on the Atlantic coast of Africa.
- P. 13. — l. 1. — This episode is very dramatically told in De Foe's novel.
- l. 5. — *Hazards and Adventures* : i. e. Crusoe's successive landings on the coast of Africa in order to get fresh water. He meets peaceful negroes who supply him with food, and kills several wild beasts.
- l. 13. — Here Gildon recalls a statement made by De Foe, that Crusoe « had nobody to communicate his projects of escape to, that would embark with him, no fellow slave, no Englishman, Irishman, or Scotsman, but himself ». But De Foe contradicts himself; a few lines further, Crusoe mentions « the carpenter of the ship, who also was an English slave » (p. 22). — and again on p. 24 he states : « Such English Xury spoke by convers-

ing among us slaves ». — The real inconsistency in the episode has not been perceived by Gildon.

l. 23. — *Cape Verde*, still a Portuguese colony.

l. 27. — *Skins* : i. e. the skins of the wild animals he had killed on the coast of Africa.

l. 29. — Crusoe's chief motive for turning Papist was that he could not have stayed in the country if he had been an heretic. At his age he had no religious preference of any kind; he tells us that he « had no scruple of being openly of the religion of the country all the while he was among them » (p. 108).

P. 14. — *l.* 3. — See note to p. VI (*l.* 6). — But this has nothing to do with Popery. It is a superstition common to the followers of all religions.

l. 13. — Crusoe, like his creator, cared little about humanitarian ideals. He was too matter-of-fact to indulge in philosophical musings about the ethics of a custom that was highly advantageous for his trade. The absence of any denunciation of the slave traffic hindered the popularity of *Robinson Crusoe* in America for a long time. — In *Colonel Jack*, De Foe advocates good treatment for slaves, but not the suppression of slavery.

l. 25. — The discussion is futile. Crusoe says « twenty or thirty feet » not to give a precise number, but simply to convey a vague impression of depth.

P. 15. — *l.* 12. — « Also I found three very good bibles which came to me in my cargo from England, and which I had packed up among my things; some Portuguese books also, and among them two or three popish prayer-books, and several other books, all which I carefully secured » (p. 37). Crusoe does not seem to have ever opened any of those books, except the Bible. Like Gildon we wonder why, on a Portuguese ship, he needed 3 English bibles.

l. 22. — This attack is unjust. Crusoe's commentaries on the Bible are simple and full of common-sense. — It was a custom among the Puritans, when in doubt about anything, to open the Bible at random, and take the first verse they found as guidance (cp. the *Pilgrim's Progress*, *Enoch Arden*, etc.). (See note to p. 24, *l.* 29).

- l. 26. — See note to p. 11, l. 11.
- l. 27. — This absurdity had already been pointed out and ridiculed in the coffee-houses. The text is : « So I pulled off my clothes, for the weather was hot to extremity and took to water... I found that all the ship's provisions were dry and untouched by the water ; and being very well disposed to eat, I went to the bread room and filled my pockets with biscuit, and eat it as I went about other things... » — De Foe was conscious of the contradiction and tried to mend matters in one of the next paragraphs : « While I was doing this, I found the tide began to flow, though very calm ; and I had the mortification to see my coat, shirt, and waistcoat, which I had left on shore upon the sand, swim away ; as for my breeches, which were only linen and open-kneed, I swam on board in them and in my stockings » (p. 32). — But the only way out of the difficulty would be to suppose that Crusoe's breeches were not part of his « clothes », which is ridiculous. — De Foe did not, as Gildon asserts, make any change in the subsequent editions of his novel. Gildon had evidently heard the contradiction discussed in conversation, and when the whole passage was read to him, he fancied that De Foe's afterthought was a modification of the text, prompted by the ridicule it had excited.
- P. 16. — l. 6. — Gildon's criticism is reasonable enough, though we do not know whether Crusoe's breeches were of the ordinary pattern of the breeches of seamen of that time.
- l. 13. — Page 77 of the 1st ed. ; i. e. p. 37 in Hazlitt's ed.
- l. 16. — These inconsistencies are glaring enough. Crusoe's items in the balance of evil and good seem strange to us when we have just read of the useful tools he found in the wreck.
- l. 30. — This applies to Wycherley, or — more likely — to Pope, whom Gildon frequently accused of being ungrateful (See the *New Rehearsal*, and the *Life of Mr. Wycherley*).
- l. 37. — i. e. p. 34 in Hazlitt's ed.
- P. 17. — l. 7. — There is an inconsistency between De Foe's account in the narrative, and that in the *Journal*. Gil-

don's first quotation is taken from the narrative. The second quotation is taken from the Journal under the date May 1st, and it corresponds to what had been previously said in the Journal (not in the narrative) under the date Oct. 15th : « It rained all night and all day, with some gusts of wind, during which time the ship broke in pieces, the wind blowing a little harder than before and was no more to be seen, except the wreck of her, and that only *at low water* ».

- l. 14. — To the ordinary English mind, this would seem the most telling of Gildon's attacks against De Foe. The passage quoted will be found on p. 58 in Hazlitt's ed.
- P. 18. — l. 4. — Here Gildon, when it suits his argument, acknowledges that De Foe praised some English sailors, — which contradicts the statement on p. VIII (see the note to l. 11).
- l. 14. — But Crusoe must have frequented common sailors : 1^o on the ship that took him to Guinea. — 2^o on the ship that picked him up at Cape Verde. — 3^o on the ship that was wrecked off the American coast, — and 4^o on the ship that brought him back to England.
- l. 17. — « However the storm was so violent, that I saw, what is not often seen, the master, the boatswain, and some others, more sensible than the rest, at their prayers, and expecting every moment when the ship would go to the bottom » (p. 20). But De Foe says that this conduct of the sailors was unusual : so it does not contradict his general statement about the « wickedness of a seafaring life ».
- l. 22. — Crusoe never tells us definitely that this happened in 3 weeks.
- l. 24. — During the first storm, which was not dangerous, but made « Crusoe sick and terrified, the sailors laughed at his fear : « Well, Bob,... how do you do after it ? I warrant you were frightened, wa'n't you, last night when it blew but a capfull of wind ? — A capfull do you call it, said I, it was a terrible storm. — A storm, you fool you, replies he, do you call that a storm ? Why it was nothing at all ; give us but a good ship and sea-room, and we think nothing of such a squall of wind as that ; but you're but a fresh water sailor, Bob ;

come, let us make a bowl of punch, and we'll forget all that » (p. 19).

- l.* 28. — But De Foe did not wish to describe a hero. Crusoe was an ordinary man, full of human weakness, who thought of God only when he was in danger.

P. 19. — *l.* 1. — « The Fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge : but fools despise wisdom and instruction. » (*Prov.* I, 7).

- l.* 3. — But the fear of danger is natural, and is found in pious men too, along with the fear of the Lord.

l. 20. — Gildon is right, according to Catholic or Anglican ideas. But Crusoe was a Puritan of the old stamp, preferring the Old Testament to the New, and believing in a vindictive Jehovah rather than in a mild and forgiving Christ. — This long and futile argument arises simply from the fundamental difference in religious point of view between Gildon and De Foe.

- l.* 27. — There is some truth in this statement, as selfishness was De Foe's chief defect. But what of Gildon, who « kept six whores and starved his modest wife ? »

l. 30. — *Pusillanimity* : Here Gildon's attack seems to be directed particularly against the peaceful Quakers.

P. 20. — *l.* 1. — Crusoe began to feel the weight of God's wrath when he became very ill of the ague : « through all the variety of miseries that had to this day befallen me, I never had so much as one thought of it being the hand of God, or that it was a just punishment for my sin, my rebellious behaviour against my father, or my present sins, which were great, or so much as a punishment for the general course of my wicked life ». (p. 44). Afterwards, when frightened by the earthquake, he declared that « God had appointed all this to befall him » (p. 45).

- l.* 2. — *Sublunary* is a favourite word with De Foe (for ex. p. 87 : in a sublunary state). The word seems to have been fashionable at the time :

« Strolling Gods, whose usual trade is...
To pick up sublunary ladies. »

(Swift : *Apollo Outwitted*).

l. 3. — Gildon's reasoning is extremely confused. He probably thinks at first of the Puritans of the Commonwealth who committed « both private and public murders » because they believed God would have punished them if they did not revenge Him against unbelievers. The superstitious fear of the Lord, which prompted such crimes, is confused by Gildon with that fear of material loss which prompts dishonesty and conquest. Besides there were other causes than fear, for the cruelty of the Spaniards in Mexico : viz. greed and lust. — De Foe might have retorted to Gildon that more crimes are caused by ambition and passion than by a fanatic fear of God.

l. 31. — *To return* is another favourite phrase of De Foe's (Hazlitt's ed. p. 47). See note to p. 11 (l. 11).

P. 21. — l. 5. — « I first fell acquainted with the master of a ship who had been on the coast of Guinea... and who, taking a fancy to my conversation, which was not at all disagreeable at that time, ...told me... I should be his messmate and his companion ». (p. 24).

l. 20. — *Notions* : not so *settled* as all that! Crusoe, it is true, had received « a good instruction of his father » ; but, as he tells us himself, he had « a certain stupidity of soul, without desire of good or conscience of evil », (p. 44) : so that when he entered on a « seafaring life » he « entertained only a little sense of religion ». (p. 58).

l. 23. — These were not the *only times* : see note to p. 18 (l. 14).

P. 22. — l. 9. — Gildon forgets there was a Scotchman on board the Portuguese ship which rescued Crusoe (Hazlitt's ed. p. 26).

l. 12. — *Fifth Voyage* : the first was from Hull to Yarmouth ; the second to Guinea, the third to Guinea again, but Crusoe was captured on the way by a Turkish rover ; the fourth to Brazil.

l. 15. — Gildon forgets that in this voyage there was fair weather for 12 days before the storm broke.

l. 18. — Gildon's attack is beside the point. De Foe had a right to choose a wicked character for his hero ; Robinson's defects prove nothing against him.

P. 23. — l. 18. — i. e. p. 61 in Hazlitt's ed.

l. 21-22. — This is not perhaps logical, but the type of expression is common in English (cp. better than best).

l. 29. — Here are a few examples of De Foe's use of *who* for *whom* : « His name was Ishmael, who they call Moley », « the boy who they called Xury » (p. 23). (Cp. in the *Complete English gentleman*, p. 100 : « a gentleman who I had long had an intimacy with »). But De Foe does not always make this mistake; he writes : « from whom I was called Robinson » (p. 17), « some of my relations whom I corresponded with » (p. 21) (Cp. *Complete English gentleman*, p. 100 « like Solomon's fool, of whom... »).

P. 24. — l. 1. — De Foe, in fact, does not tell us how Crusoe managed to let the goat escape (p. 63).

l. 5-8. — This happened when Crusoe, trying to sail round the island, was carried away by the current (p. 60).

l. 7. — But Crusoe tells us that he stored provisions in his boat before starting : « I victualled my ship for the voyage, putting in two dozen of my loaves (cakes I should rather call them) of barley bread, an earthen pot full of parched rice, a food I eat a great deal of, a little bottle of rum, half a goat, and powder with shot for killing more, and two large watch coats. » p. 60). — These provisions were easily sufficient for 5 or 6 days.

l. 9. — Gildon's herd of goats consisted at the time of one kid !

l. 10. — i. e. when Crusoe, in terror at the sight of the footprint, remained hidden in his castle for 3 days (p. 67).

l. 15. — « Abundance of such things as these assisted to argue me out of all apprehensions of its being the devil ; and I presently concluded that it must be some more dangerous kind of creature, viz. that it must be some of the savages of the main land over against me ». (p. 66). — Crusoe's practical common sense led him to conclude that the immediate danger of flesh-and-blood savages was greater than the problematic danger of an hypothetical devil.

l. 20. — Gildon is right here. De Foe was paid according to the bulk of his books, and his tendency was of course

to make his works as long as possible. Thus Crusoe's journal simply repeats the narrative. The same moral reflections recur over and over again : for example Crusoe's ideas about the wickedness of sailors are set forth in the same terms on pp. 44 and 58.

- l. 25. — « To trifle with sacred things ». — Gildon was proud of his Latin and liked to show his superiority over De Foe in this respect.
- l. 29. — *Sortes Virgilianae* : a form of divination which consisted in taking the first passage on which the eye fell on opening a volume of Virgil as prophesying future events, or indicating a line of action to be taken. Crusoe used the Bible instead of Virgil's works : but so did all Non-conformists.
- P. 25. — l. 4. — So Gildon condemns De Foe's didactic idea of teaching biblical lessons by means of a fictitious tale, thus using Art in the service of Religion.
- l. 7. — This is *Lucilio Vanini* (1585-1619), an Italian philosopher who, like Bruno, professed sceptical views and even preached atheism. He stayed a short time in England (1614) but was imprisoned in London for 49 days on account of his doctrines. Later, he was arrested in Toulouse and condemned as an atheist to have his tongue cut out and to be strangled at the stake, — which sentence was carried out.
- l. 8. — *The Freethinker, a collection of essays on Ignorance, Superstition, Bigotry, etc. Intermixed with several pieces of Wit and Humour*; by Ambrose Phillips, Boulter, etc. — N° 1 was published on March 24 th, 1718, and n° 159 (the last) on Sept. 28 th, 1719).
- l. 15. — Crusoe, like a good middle-class Englishman, naturally enough thought first of beer. It is curious, nevertheless, that De Foe did not think of the easier possibility of making wine. But Crusoe had no casks for either, and had not succeeded in making any. (p. 70).
- l. 21. — i. e. p. 72 in Hazlitt's ed. « It came now very warmly upon my thoughts, and indeed irresistibly, that now was my time to get a servant, and perhaps a companion or assistant, and that I was called plainly by Providence to save this poor creature's life ». (p. 81). — « Let no man despise the secret hints and notices of

danger ! » (p. 90). -- « Let no man slight the strong impulses of his own thoughts » (p. 109). — The same idea is repeated on pp. 49, 66, 71, 90, etc.).

l. 30. — The Daimôn of Socrates was probably some kind of internal voice, akin to De Foe's « secret hints ».

P. 26. — l. 1. — *Girolamo Cardan* (or Cardano) (1501-1576), famous as a mathematician published in 1543 a treatise on astrology in which he prided himself particularly on having been vouchsafed the assistance of a guardian demon.

l. 5. — This applies to all visionaries and to many Catholic saints. But their guardian angel, not their patron saint, was their guide. — In *Hudibras* (II, 1), Butler ridiculed the story of Saint Francis. In the *Serious Reflections*, he himself ridiculed the legends of Popish Saints.

l. 12. — De Foe's words are : « while I was cutting down some wood here. I perceived that behind a very thick branch of low brushwood, or underwood, there was a kind of hollow place... I found it was pretty large, that is to say, sufficient for me to stand upright in it...; but I must confess to you I made more haste out than I did in : when looking further into the place, *which was perfectly dark*, I saw two broad shining eyes of some creature, whether devil or man I knew not, which twinkled like two stars, the dim light from the cave's mouth shining directly in, and making the reflection. » (p. 73). — He repeats on the same page : « The place I was in was a most delightful cavity, or grotto, of its kind, as could be expected, *though perfectly dark*. » (If the word dark was suppressed, the contradiction would disappear). Cox, the piratical abridger of the novel, made matters still worse. He wrote : « Peeping further into the place, and which was totally dark, I saw two glaring eyes of some creature I knew not, which twinkled like stars, the light from the cave's mouth shining directly in, and making the reflection. » (p. 154). The anonymous author of the abridgment of the three volumes of *Robinson Crusoe* (1724) paid careful heed to Gildon's criticism, and, in summing up this episode, suppressed the words *dark* and *darkness*.

- l. 22. — When Crusoe baked his bread, he told us : « Then I wanted a mill to grind it (the corn), sieves to dress it, yeast and salt to make it into bread. » (p. 54). — But, on p. 84, he offered salt to Friday, who « spat and sputtered at it, washing his mouth with fresh water after it. »
- l. 26. — De Foe nowhere says that the victims were bound or fettered.
- P. 27. — l. 1. — Gildon is right in pointing out this inconsistency. A few days after the first anniversary of his landing (p. 49), Crusoe says : « My ink began to fail me », — and, after the third year, (p. 58) : « My ink had been gone for some time ». But on the 28th year of his stay (p. 96), he says : « I gave him a strict charge in writing. »
- l. 15. — « I had been accustomed enough to the sea, and yet I had a strange aversion to go to England by sea at that time » (p. 109).
- l. 21. — The epithet *monstrous* is not exaggerated. De Foe evidently wanted to fill up a number of pages, and imagined this ridiculous story, which, he knew, would be a subject of wonder and admiration to many a cook and apprentice. He was a good business man, and willing to gratify the popular taste for sensational stories.
- P. 28. — l. 4. — « O ! O ! O ! says Friday three times, pointing to the bear, O master ! you give me te leave, me shakee te hand with him, me makee you good laugh. » (p. 110).
- l. 6. — « So down he sits, and gets his boots off in a moment, and puts on a pair of pumps, as we call the flat shoes they wear, and which he had in his pocket, and gives my other servant his horse, and, with his gun, away he flew, swift like the wind. » (p. 110).
- l. 8. — « Friday, who had, as we say, the heels of the bear, came up with him quickly, and takes up a great stone and throws at him, and hit him just on the head, but did him no more harm than if he had thrown it against a wall. » (p. 111). — But it was quite possible for Friday to find a stone in the snow which was not very deep.

- l. 15.* — There are bears in the mountains of Venezuela and British Guiana, so that Friday might have seen some during the wanderings of his tribe. (cp. p. VII).
- l. 17.* — Friday climbs up a tree, and the angry bear follows him closely : « When we came to the tree, there was Friday got out to the small of a large limb of the tree, and the bear got about half way to him. As soon as the bear got out to that part where the limb of the tree was weaker. Ha, says he to us, now you see me teachee the bear dance ; so he falls a-jumping and shaking the bough, at which the bear began to totter, but stood still, and began to look behind him to see how he should get back. » (p. III).
- l. 25.* — See note to p. IX, *l. 2.*
- l. 26, etc.* — These later travels are announced in the last page of the novel, which shows that De Foe expected success and was preparing a second volume.

THE POSTSCRIPT

- P. 2.* — *l. 11.* The 2nd vol of *Robinson Crusoe* (*Further Adventures*) was issued on Aug. 20th, 1719. Gildon's Postscript was written in the last days of August and the beginning of September.
- l. 21.* — « Our old Portuguese pilot brought a Japan merchant to us, who began to inquire what goods we had ; and in the first place, he bought all our opium and gave us a very good price for it ». (*Further Adv.* p. 76).
- l. 24.* — The second vol. is in fact much inferior to the first. It contains many tedious passages, such as the episode of Atkins's conversion, Crusoe's dealing in China etc., but it is an exaggeration to say that it everywhere « prepares you for sleep ».
- P. 30.* — *l. 10.* — « The success the former part of this work has met with in the world, has yet been no other than is acknowledged to be due to the surprising variety of the subject and to the agreeable manner of the performance ».
- l. 15.* — By the word *judicious*, Gildon means the same thing as *rational* (p. 28), i. e. any reader not belong-

ing to the vulgar class that was delighted at the time by *Gay of Warwick*.

- l.* 20. — There are exactly 24 sheets in *Robinson Crusoe*.
l. 23. — It must be acknowledged that there are many digressions, such as the description of the starving maid (p. 53), or the disparagement of Chinese greatness (p. 78), which have no connexion whatever with the narrative.
l. 28. — *Canting* is the epithet which a severe critic might justly apply to Crusoe's religion.
l. 30. — « By this [i. e. abridging the work by the suppression of all didactic elements] they leave the work naked of its brightest ornaments » (ibid.).

P. 31. — *l.* 1-2. — There is some truth in Gildon's criticism, but De Foe was naturally long-winded, and wrote exactly as a garrulous person talks. — The price of each vol. of *Robinson Crusoe* was 5 s.

- l.* 7. — Gildon is right in complaining that the first pages of the *Journal* are a mere repetition of the events Crusoe had already told « in plain narration ». De Foe was very careless in matters of style and composition.
l. 15. — These repetitions are to be found chiefly in the *Journal* (for example : « rain all day », « very ill », etc.) ; but they are natural in the diary of a « plain honest man ».
l. 17. — *Hudibras* II, 1st c. l. 512. — Quoting from memory, Gildon changed the words slightly :

« Is't not enough to make one strange,
 That some mens fancies should ne'er change ?
 But make all people do, and say,
 The same things still the self-same way. »

(The reading in the first authorized edition of the second line was : « That a mans fancy should ne'er changes »)

- l.* 23. — See the notes to p. 1 (*l.* 13) and p. 23 (*l.* 29).
l. 26. — In fact the *Further Adventures* had a second edition before the end of the year.

P. 32. — *l.* 1. — « All the endeavours of envious people to reproach it with being a romance, to search it for er-

rors in geography, inconsistency in the relation, and contradictions in the fact, have proved abortive, and as impotent as malicious ». — This shows that the success of *Robinson Crusoe* had been much discussed in coffee-houses. — The word *abortive* in the meaning of *fruitless* was not unusual in De Foe's time. Cp. Addison, *Cato*, III, 7 :

« Our first design, my friends, has prov'd abortive ».

- l. 8. — But the great Pope himself had told Spence : « The first part of *Robinson Crusoe* is very good; De Foe wrote a vast many things, and none bad, though none excellent, except this ».
- l. 18. — « If Nature refuses, Indignation makes verses ». *Juv. Sat.* I, 79.
- l. 26. — In spite of this assertion there was much envy in Gildon's soul when he considered the tremendous success achieved by a rival writer.

P. 33. — l. 2-3. — De Foe's statement in the Preface to the first vol. was : « The editor believes the thing to be a just history of fact ». — In the beginning of the 18th century the novel was not yet born, and a book of which « it is all a lie » could be said, was doomed to failure.

l. 11, etc. — Gildon is unjust. The book tends to prove that man is entirely in the hands of God, Who never fails to punish him for his sins.

l. 18. — See the notes to p. VI (l. 9), p. 3 (l. 24) etc.

P. 34. — l. 2. — « And this makes the abridging this work as scandalous as it is knavish and ridiculous, seeing, while to shorten the book that they may seem to reduce the value, they strip it of all those reflections, as well religious as moral, which are not only the greatest beauties of the work, but are calculated for the infinite advantage of the reader ». (Pref.). — De Foe alludes to a piratical abridgment of the first volume, which was issued in the beginning of August by a bookseller named Cox, at the price of 2 s. Taylor, De Foe's editor, denounced this book in his advertisement of the 4th ed. of *Robinson Crusoe* : « The pretended abridgment of this book clandestinely printed for T.

Cox does not contain the third part of the work ; but consists only of some scattered passages, incoherently tacked together ; wherein the author's sense throughout is wholly mistaken, the matters of fact misrepresented, and the moral reflections misapplied. It's hoped the Public will not give encouragement to so base a practice, the proprietor intending to prosecute the vendors according to Law » (*Daily Courant* for Aug. 3th, 1740). — Cox's abridgment (pp. 259) is certainly very bad : for example, we are not told that Crusoe saw a footprint on the sand, so that the sequel becomes incoherent. — Taylor began a suit in Chancery for the protection of his copyright. In the *Flying Post* for October 29th, Cox replied that the book had been published by his firm without his knowledge, while he was absent in Scotland, and he threatened to disclose some secrets about De Foe. The prosecution was stopped. — Cox died a few months later. (See the Pref. to the *Serious Reflections*).

- l. 3. — But Gildon himself would have been extremely angry if a pirated edition of his *Art of Poetry* had been sold cheaper than the authorized edition, thus depriving him of part of his benefit.
- l. 6. — *Justin* : a Latin historian who lived before the 5th cent. A.D. His work, *Historiarum Philippicarum Libri XLII* is described by himself in the preface as an abridgment of an older history written in the time of Augustus by *Trogus Pompeius* ; this work, *Historiae Philippicae et totius Mundi origines et Terrae situs*, was probably ousted from public favour by Justin's shorter book. A new English version of Justin's work, by Thomas Brown, appeared in 1712, and replaced Codrington's older translation.
- l. 13. — *Darius Tibertus*, or rather *Dario Tiberti* was born at Cesena ; he died in the beginning of the 16th cent. He made a Latin abridgment of Plutarch's *Lives* (*Epitome vitarum Plutarchi*, Ferrare 1501), an edition of which was issued in Paris in 1573. It was translated into French in the same year. Tiberti's work was used by David Lloyd in the abridgment of the *Lives* which he published in 1665.
- l. 17. — *Guarini* : this is evidently a mistake for Guicciar-

dini (1482-1540) whose *History of Italy* was translated into English by Fenton as early as 1579 (new editions in 1599, 1618). Abridgments of it were published in England by Dallington in 1615 (republished in 1629).

- l. 18. — This is of course *Pliny the Naturalist* (23-79), but it does not appear his works were ever abridged in Latin. The whole of the *Natural History* was translated into English by Philemon Holland (1601).
 - l. 19. — *Fontenelle* (1657-1757), the great French philosopher, whose *History of Oracles* (1687) was immediately translated into English and created a sensation in the philosophical world.
 - l. 21. — *Sir William Temple* (1628-99), the great statesman and essayist, professed himself an enthusiastic admirer of Fontenelle in his *Letters* (1700-03) and *Essays* (*Miscellanies*, 1705-08).
 - l. 24. — *Van Dale* (1638-1708), a Dutch philosopher, whose Latin treatise *De Oraculis veterum ethnicorum* (1683) was abridged by Fontenelle in his *Histoire des Oracles*.
 - l. 27. — These works were abridgments of foreign or classical authors, and not pirated abridgments of living English writers. Gildon gives no instance of the latter.
- P. 35. — l. 6. — But it was not the *only fault* of the abridgment. (See note to p. 34, l. 2).
- l. 8. — This clever, but sophistical, argument must have annoyed De Foe greatly.
 - l. 15. — The chief interest of Cox's abridgment is that it shows what, in the book, most interested contemporary readers. Cox dropped all moral reflections and briefly summed up Crusoe's early adventures : he gave most space to Crusoe's stay on the island.
 - l. 28. — Gildon's literary criticism is contained in these words : Rules of Art. Nothing can be beautiful, he thought, if it does not follow the rules derived from the Ancients.
- P. 36 — l. 2. — The book, of course, was read to Gildon.
- l. 4. — « My imagination worked up to such a height... that I actually supposed myself oftentimes upon the spot at my old castle behind the trees, saw my old Span-

lard, Friday's father, and the reprobate sailors whom I left upon the island... One time in my sleep I had the villany of the three pirate sailors so lively related to me by the first Spaniard and Friday's father, that it was surprising; they told me how they barbarously attempted to murder all the Spaniards, and that they set fire to the provisions they had laid up, on purpose to distress and starve them, things that I had never heard of, and that were yet all of them true in fact. » (p. 5).

- l. 16. — Though somewhat a casuist, Crusoe never tried to explain from what authority he derived his power. He maintained that land belongs to the first occupant, and accepted it as natural that he should be king of his island, and absolute master of the lives of the Spaniards who arrived on the island after his departure.
- l. 21. — *Madam* is used here in a contemptuous sense, like *Monsieur*, on p. 11. — Trought the *Beggar's Opera* Gay used the word with this depreciatory meaning : see for example Lucy's song in Act II, sc. 3 : « Why, how now, Madam Flirt », etc.
- l. 22. — My wife... told me very seriously one night, that she believed there was some secret powerful impulse of Providence upon me, which had determined me to go thither again. » (p. 6).
- P. 37. — l. 2. — *Farther Adv.* p. 7. — We have seen already what ludicrous use Gildon made of this awkward sentence (p. XVIII). De Foe seems to mean that we have premonitions (« secret hints ») of events which come to pass later, even though we have not communicated these premonitions to any one who could be instrumental in the fulfilment of them. This shows that the secret hints are sent from an invisible supernatural world, — and from the existence of a supernatural world De Foe infers a future state.
- l. 10. — My ancient good friend the widow... earnestly struggled with me to consider my years, my easy circumstances, and the needless hazard of a long voyage, and, above all, my young children; but it was all to no purpose; I had an irresistible desire to the voyage; and I told her I thought there was something so un-

common in the impressions I had upon my mind for the voyage, that it would be a kind of resisting Providence if I should attempt to shew a return. » (p. 11). — Crusoe's departure looks like a cynic's trick and gives a poor idea of the occupations of Providence.

- L. 15. — *En passant* was then a fashionable expression. De Foe did not use it in the homely style of *Robinson Crusoe*, but in the more elaborate style of *Captain Carleton* (p. 18).
- L. 20. — De Foe liked to paint extreme passions, and there is in all his books a display of sentimentality to please the popular taste : his heroes weep on all occasions. The description of the violent emotions of the rescued occupies a whole page in Hazlitt's edition : « There were some in tears, some raging and tearing themselves, as if they had been in the greatest agonies of sorrow ; some stark raving and downright lunatic ; some ran about the ship stamping with their feet, others wringing their hands ; some were dancing, several singing, some laughing, more crying ; many quite dumb, not able to speak a word ; others sick and vomiting, several swooning, and ready to faint ; and a few were crossing themselves and giving God thanks ». But then Crusoe carefully explains : « Perhaps also the case may have some addition to it from the particular circumstance of the nation they belonged to ; I mean the French, whose temper is allowed to be more volatile, more passionate, and more sprightly, and their spirits more fluid, than of other nations. » (p. 10).
- L. 26. — But these people were saved after many long hours of anxiety. During the night their hopes rose and fell, so that the extremity of their joy in being saved at last is quite natural.
- P. 38. — L. 3. — « I immediately ordered that five guns should be fired, one soon after another, that, if possible, we might give notice to them that there was help for them at hand ». (p. 9).
- L. 7. — « To direct them as well as I could, I caused lights to be hung out in all the parts of the ship where we could, and which we had lanterns for, and kept firing

- guns all the night long, letting them know by this that there was a ship not far off ». (p. 9).
- l. 13. — On the contrary, it is rational to believe that they were in agonies of terror in the intervals of the guns, and afraid of losing the right direction.
- l. 14. — Friday had been abnormally quick in learning English; but, like uneducated people in a foreign country, once he had arrived at the stage of making himself understood, he never got rid, or even sought to get rid, of his grammatical mistakes. When he saw the island again, he exclaimed : « Me see ! me see ! yes, yes, me see much man there, and there, and there ». (p. 11).
- l. 24. — Gildon is right. — De Foe could draw only one character; a Puritan Englishman of the middle class. The Spaniard and Crusoe are brothers : so are the French Priest and the Spaniard. Thus, on p. 20, in the Spaniard's relation of the chief events on the island after Crusoe's departure, we find this passage : « It happened one night that the Spaniard governor... found himself very uneasy in the night, and could by no means get any sleep : he was perfectly well in body, as he told me the story, only found his thoughts tumultuous; his mind ran upon men fighting, and killing one another, but was broad awake and could not by any means get any sleep. In short, he lay a great while, but growing more and more uneasy, he resolved to rise ». Then he roused one of his comrades who said : « Such things are not to be slighted », and added, as Crusoe would have done : « I am satisfied our spirits embodied have converse with, and receive intelligence from, the spirits unembodied, and inhabiting the invisible world; and this friendly notice is given for our advantage, if we know how to make use of it ». — Of course, the « secret hint » was right : there was a whole army of cannibals on the island. (Cp. the notes to pp. VI and 25).
- P. 39. — l. 2. — As Gildon maintains, the character of the Spaniard is full of inconsistencies and improbabilities. De Foe, always writing in haste, very probably forgot which of his heroes was speaking at the time.

- l. 9. — In the first vol., p. 95 : the Spaniard quotes *Exodus* XVI, 2-3. « You know the children of Israel, though they rejoiced at first of their being delivered out of Egypt, yet rebelled even against God himself, that delivered them when they came to want bread in the wilderness ». — In the *Further Adventures* he quotes the Scriptures frequently (pp. 16, 27, etc.). It pleased De Foe's paradoxical mind to shock the prejudices of his readers. Here he represents a good Spaniard (« the most gentlemanlike generous-minded man that ever I met with in my life ») — a phenomenon which must have astonished many of his readers who had so often heard of the cruelty of the Spaniards in the West Indies.
- l. 13. — *In the Night*. — We may suppose they were delayed by contrary currents. Besides, we are not told that they came for their barbarous feast (p. 20) : they might have come to attack the inhabitants of the island, of whose presence they had heard.
- l. 19. — This tedious conversation between the two men extends over 4 pages (40-43). It must have surprised De Foe's readers to find a Popish priest so familiar with the Bible. As for De Foe's representation of him as a broad-minded man, see note to p. VIII (l. 30).
- l. 26. — « You have here 4 Englishmen, who have fetched women from among the savages, and have taken them as their wives, and have had many children by them all, and yet are not married to them after any stated legal manner, as the laws of God and man require, and, therefore, are yet, in the sense of both, no less than adulterers, and living in adultery » (p. 41). De Foe must have been greatly mortified by this piece of criticism, as he hated to be reproached with « writing false English ».
- P. 40. — l. 18. — « Now, sir, — said he, — though I do not acknowledge your religion, or you mine, yet we should be all glad to see the devil's servants, and the subjects of his kingdom, taught to know the general principles of the Christian religion; that they might at least hear of God, and of a Redeemer, and of the resurrection, and of a future state, things we all believe; they had at

least been so much nearer coming into the bosom of the true church, than they are now in the public profession of idolatry and devil worship » (p. 42). — Cp. .
 « It is a maxim, sir, that is, or ought to be, received among all Christians, of what church or pretended church soever, viz., that Christian knowledge ought to be propagated by all possible means, and on all possible occasions. It is on this principle that our church sends missionaries into Persia, India and China; and that our clergy, even of the superior sort, willingly engage in the most hazardous voyages, and the most dangerous residence, among murderers and barbarians, to teach them the knowledge of the true God, and to bring them over to embrace the Christian faith : (p. 42).

l. 20. — *Complements* is of course a misprint for compliments.

l. 25. — Gildon's criticism must have been made already by many a good Protestant. But it was for the amazement of his readers that De Foe introduced into his tale that wonder of wonders, a tolerant Popish priest. — He carefully pointed out that this priest was a very rare exception : Crusoe cunningly told the priest (p. 46) : « I cannot tell how to object the least thing against that affectionate concern which you shew for turning the poor people from their Paganism to the Christian religion; but how does this comfort you, while these people are, in your account, out of the pale of the Catholic Church, without which, you believe, there is no salvation; so that you esteem these but heretics still, and, for other reasons, as effectually lost as the pagans themselves ? » — To which this Phoenix of priests answered « with abundance of candour and Christian Charity » (p. 47) : « I am a Catholic of the Roman Church and a priest of the order of St. Benedict... but yet, I do not look upon you, who call yourselves reformed, without some charity; I dare not say, though I know it is our opinion in general, yet I dare not say that you cannot be saved; I will by no means limit the mercy of Christ so far as to think that he cannot receive you into the bosom of his church... you will allow it to consist with me, as a Roman, to dis-

tinguish far between a Protestant and a Pagan, between him that calls on Jesus Christ, though in a way which I do not think is according to the true faith, and a savage, a barbarian, that knows no God, no Christ, no Redeemer at all... ...I would rejoice if all the savages in America were brought, like this poor woman, to pray to God, though they were to be all Protestants at first, rather than they should continue pagans and heathens ». — Crusoe replied that « he believed, had all the members of his church the like moderation, they would soon be all Protestants ». His final words are : « I thought he [the priest] had all the zeal, all the knowledge, all the sincerity of a Christian, without the errors of a Roman Catholic; and that I took him to be such a clergyman as the Roman bishops were, before the church of Rome assumed spiritual sovereignty over the consciences of men » (p. 50).

P. 41. — l. 6. — The rapidity of Atkins's conversion is truly amazing (pp. 44-5). His long dialogue with Crusoe is highly improbable.

l. 15. — Atkins's wife is abnormally quick in grasping abstruse theological ideas. The episode of her baptism is full of humour, but this must have passed unnoticed by « vulgar readers », whose sentimentality would have been deeply moved by the touching conversion.

l. 16. — *Jack of all trades* is the expression used by De Foe on p. 51. He describes this ingenious fellow in the following words : « I carried two carpenters, a smith, and a very handy ingenious fellow, who was a cooper by trade, but was also a general mechanic, for he was dexterous at making wheels and hand-mills to grind corn, was a good turner, and a good pot-maker; he also made anything that was proper to be made of earth or of wood; in a word we called him our Jack of all trades » (p. 8).

l. 19. — This is curious : Crusoe who had been at pains to instruct Friday in the Protestant religion forgets to have him baptized on his return to England; at least he does not tell us anything of it in the novel.

- P. 42. — *L. 3.* — *i. c.* p. 42 in Hazlitt's ed. See note to p. 40.
L. 45.
- L. 21.* — Gildon is unfair; the priest is described as a happy exception. De Foe hated Popery, and Crusoe often maintains that English Protestantism is by far the best form of religion (see note to p. VIII). Gildon, a deserter from Roman Catholicism, was more violent against Popery than De Foe who had always been a Dissenter.
- P. 43. — *L. 6.* — There were bishops among Catholic missionaries as well as Jesuits of high rank. It is true, though, that missionaries belonged generally to the regular clergy.
- L. 9.* — Gildon does not remember that the priest is responsible for the statement on the preceding page. Crusoe himself judged very severely the work of Popish missionaries : « [we became] acquainted with three missionary Romish priests who were in the town, and who had been there some time converting the people to Christianity; but we thought they had made but poor work of it, and made them but sorry Christians when they had done... I must confess the conversion, as they call it, of the Chinese to Christianity is so far from the true conversion required to bring heathen people to the faith of Christ, that it seems to amount to little more than letting them know the name of Christ, say some prayers to the Virgin Mary and her son in a tongue which they understand not, and to cross themselves, and the like » (pp. 75-6). — De Foe admired the zeal and piety of some missionaries, but scorned their doctrine.
- L. 11.* — Gildon's criticism made an impression on De Foe : in the 4th chapter of the *Serious Reflections*, he charged the Inquisition with condemning men whose riches were coveted by the clergy; « Inquisitors are scarce Christians », he concluded (p. 44).
- L. 15.* — The Dominicans, who were the Jesuits' worst enemies, had denounced the trading of the latter and their over-supple principles in China before the Congregation *De Propaganda Fide* (for the propagation of faith), which had been established by Pope Gregory

XV, in 1622. — In the *Serious Reflections* (p. 84), De Foe parodied the title of this congregation by applying it to the Devil's agents on the earth.

- l.* 20. — The Jesuit Ricci (1552-1610), founder of the Jesuit mission in China, had resolved to accommodate Christianity to the creeds and customs of the Chinese. After him, the Jesuits scrupulously respected all Chinese rites that were not too contrary to Christian morals, and laid aside all Catholic ceremonies that might have hurt Chinese prejudice; they admitted for instance the worship of Confucius and the cult of Ancestors. These facts were denounced by the Dominicans and condemned as early as 1645. But the Jesuits were so powerful that, though several times condemned, they continued their policy till 1742. Pope Clement XI's Bull in 1715, ordering the suppression of all Chinese ceremonies and denouncing the conduct of the Jesuits, was hailed with contemptuous joy in Protestant England. In the *Serious Reflections*, De Foe, again taking the hint from Gil-don's work, condemned the Jesuits « who sung anthems to the immortal Idols of Tonquin » (p. 44).
- l.* 24. — In the *Serious Reflections*, De Foe, a severe judge of China and the Chinese, speaks thus of the great philosopher : « As to their religion, it is all summed up in Confucius's Maxims, whose theology I take to be a rhapsody of moral conclusions; a foundation, or what we may call elements of polity, morality and superstition, huddled together in a rhapsody of words, without consistency, and, indeed, with very little reasoning in it » (p. 40).
- l.* 29. — De Foe was no promoter of Popery, but he was not such a fanatic as to condemn systematically all Papists. As the priest in *Robinson Crusoe* preferred Protestantism to Paganism, De Foe preferred Popery to Paganism. In the *Serious Reflections*, he wrote : « I hope none will object against calling the Roman Church a Christian Church, and the professors of the Popish Church Christians » (p. 66).
- P. 44. — *l.* 4. — Speaking of the Tartars, *Crusoe* says : « I wondered how the Chinese empire could be conquered by such contemptible fellows; for they are a mere herd

or crowd of wild fellows, keeping no order, and understanding no discipline or manner of fight » (p. 82).

He is unable to find words strong enough for his indignation at the sight of the barbarous Tartar idol, « frightful as the Devil », at Nartschinsky; with a Crusader's zeal he destroys it and gets into endless trouble (pp. 86-90).

l. 6. — *i. e.* *Samoyedes*.

- l. 28.* — « But, sir, the essence of the sacrament of matrimony (so he called it, being a Roman) consists not only in the mutual consent of the parties to take one another as man and wife, but in the formal and legal obligation that there is in the contract, to compel the man and woman at all times, to own and acknowledge each other; obliging the man to abstain from all other women, to engage in no other contract while these subsist, and on all occasions, as ability allows, to provide honestly for them and their children; and to oblige the women to the same or like conditions, *mutatis mutandis*, on their side » (p. 41). — Gildon would probably have been at a loss to explain what he found specially Popish in this passage.

P. 45 — *l. 3.* — « For my Spaniards, according to my promise, I engaged three Portugal women to go; and recommended it to them to marry them and use them kindly. I could have procured more women, but I remembered that the poor persecuted man had two daughters, and there were but five of the Spaniards that wanted; the rest had wives of their own, though in another country. — All this cargo arrived safe, and as you may easily suppose, very welcome to my old inhabitants, who were now (with this addition) between 60 and 70 people, besides little children, of which there were a great many » (p. 57). — A curious oversight for a Puritan !

l. 8. — The episode is quite useless for the story, but, being full of grim and terrible details, it must have been very « entertaining for the canaille ».

l. 14. — « Let no wise man flatter himself with the strength of his own judgment, as if he was able to choose any particular station of life for himself. Man is a short-

sighted creature, sees but a very little way before him ; and as his passions are none of his best friends, so his particular affections are generally his worst counselors » (p. 58). — De Foe simply states here that no man knows the future, and in the following sentence — which Gildon overlooked — he draws a moral conclusion from this : « But the secret ends of Divine Providence in thus permitting us to be hurried down the stream of our own desires, are only to be understood of those who can listen to the voice of Providence, and draw religious consequences from God's justice and their own mistakes ».

- l.* 24. — *i. e.* p. 79 in Hazlitt's ed. — Gildon is right : there is a contradiction in the text.
- l.* 26. — « His horse was a poor, lean, starved, hobbling creature, such as in England might sell for about 30 or 40 shillings ; and he had two slaves followed him on foot to drive the poor creature along » (p. 79).
- P.* 40. — *l.* 11. — This is another instance of De Foe's love for paradox. It was fashionable at the time to exalt the Chinese Empire. De Foe contends that it is inferior to the English. His arguments are poor : « 30.000 German or English foot or 10.000 French horse would fairly beat all the forces of China... There is not a fortified town in China could hold out one month against the batteries and attacks of an European army. » — He calls the Chinese « a contemptible herd and crowd of ignorant, sordid slaves ». (p. 78). — De Foe took his theories about China from the *Relation de M. Evert Isbrants, envoyé de S. M. Czarienne à l'Empereur de la Chine en 1692, 1693 et 1694 par le Sr Adam Brand* (Amsterdam 1699).
- l.* 17. — Sir William Temple adopted Father Le Comte's favourable opinion of China. — In the *Serious Reflections* (pp. 40-42), De Foe, who had probably been annoyed by Gildon's criticism, renewed his attack on Chinese greatness.
- l.* 26. — Though not so ridiculous as the episode of the bear in the first vol., this burning of the Idol seems to indicate that De Foe was again hard pressed to find

- a new incident to fill a certain number of pages (pp. 86-89).
- l. 13.* — « A cunning fellow, a Cossack, as they call them, of Jarawena, in the pay of the Moscovites, calling to the leader of the caravan, said to him : I will send all these people away to Sibeilka. This was a city 4 or 5 days' journey at least to the south, and rather behind us » (p. 89).
- P. 47. — l. 6.* — How angry Gildon must have been, when the Publisher's Introduction to the *Serious Reflections* was read to him : « If the foundation has been so well laid, the structure cannot but be expected to bear a proportion; and while the parable has been so diverting, the moral must certainly be equally agreeable ».
- l. 14.* — « One recognizes Hercules by the foot, and a lion by the claw ». A Greek proverb made popular by Erasmus in his *Adagia* (I, 9).
- l. 18.* — This theory would tend to the suppression of all didactic tales.
- l. 23.* — De Foe would be in sympathy with Gildon, here. In the *Serious Reflections* (p. 10) he ridiculed the story of St. Hilary.
- P. 48. — l. 1.* — De Foe must have been very astonished and not a little troubled to find himself accused of promoting atheism; and this probably explains why he introduced in the *Serious Reflections* a long dialogue against atheists, or « men-devils ».
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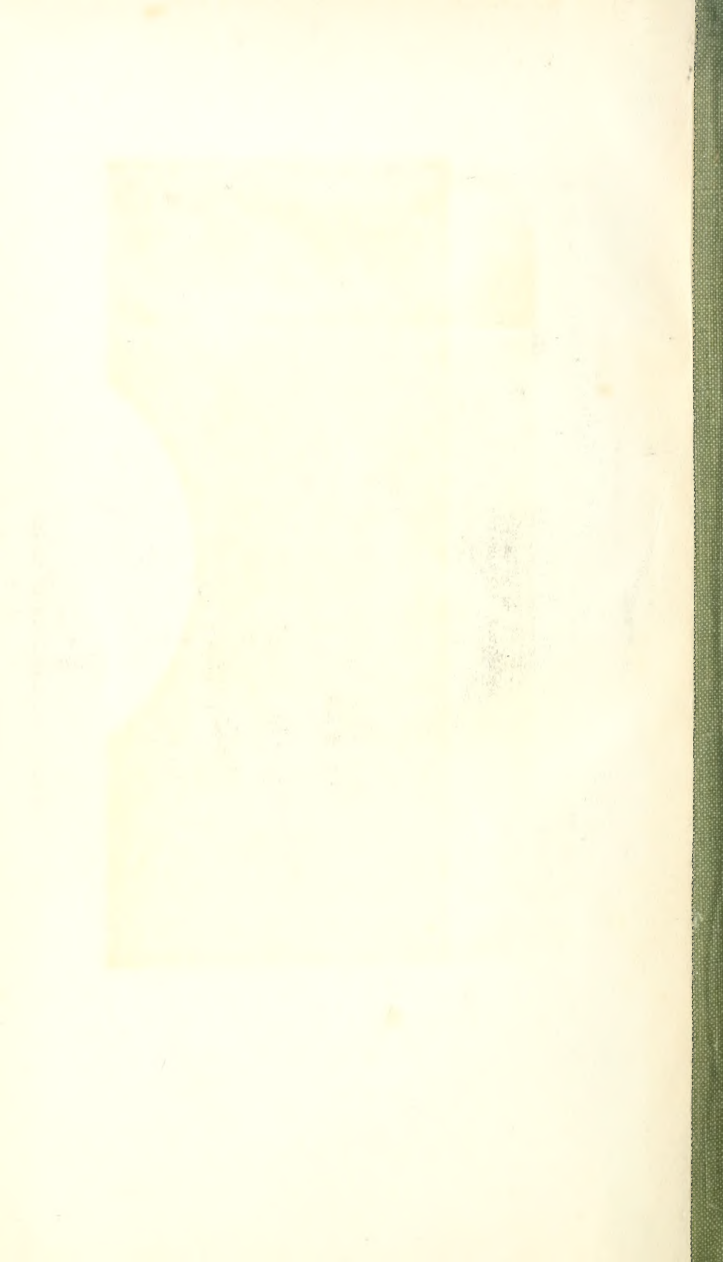
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